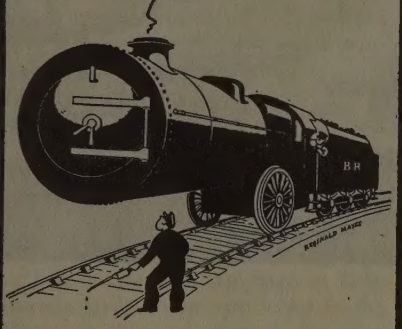
There isn't
even half an engine
to spare for
unnecessary journeys



.. so 'stay put' this
summer

RAILWAY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

World Review

INCORPORATING REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY EDWARD HULTON

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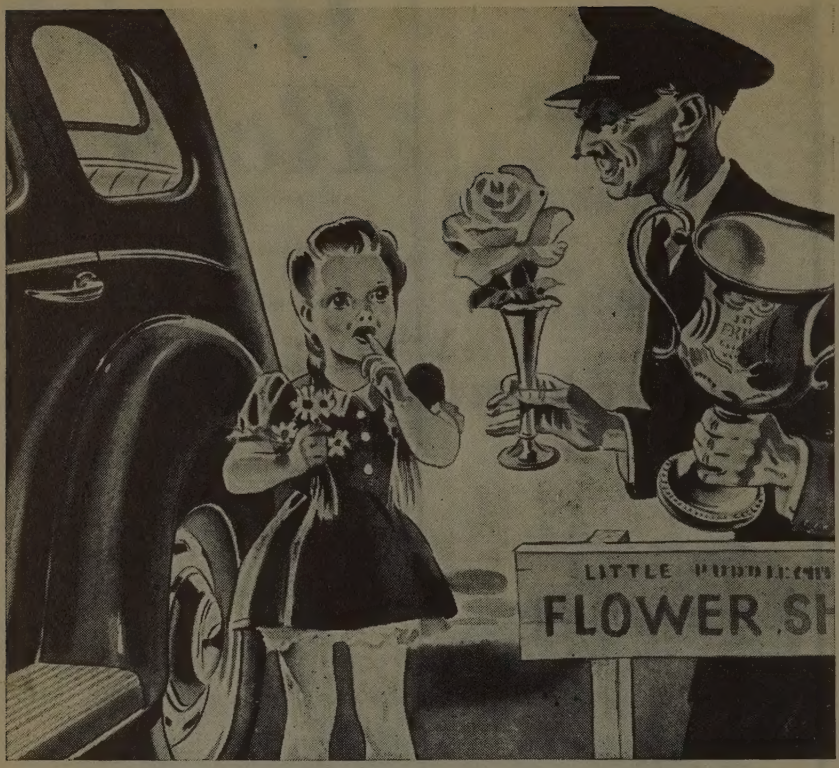

Until then . . . Peace has its victories, too—and, maybe, in that future of youthful opportunity there will be prizes for buttercups and daisies as well as for hothouse blooms. Until then, the prizes are for potatoes and the cups for cabbages. But, best of all, is the satisfaction of knowing that your dug-up lawn and sacrificed flower-beds are helping to save shipping space for the offensive. Digging for victory may not be as spectacular as fighting for it — but it's one of the most important jobs of the war. How much *more* of your garden can be put to a victorious use ?

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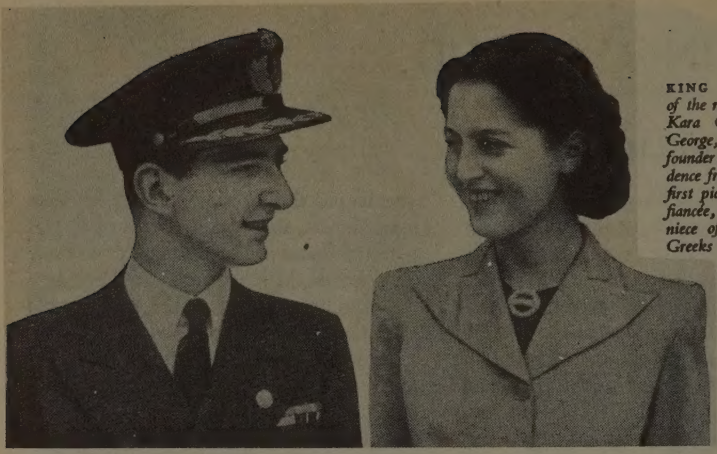
THINKING ALOUD

EDWARD HULTON

We are approaching the concluding phases of the war. The military position is certainly much less terrifying; but what may be called the political prospects could hardly be more terrifying than they are. For there lies revealed a fundamental and almost complete lack of unity of purpose amongst the belligerent Allies, both small and great. From the beginning of the war many of us have urged the formulation of war and peace aims. Now there is a real danger that the fighting will come to an end, and the Allies will be without a plan. It is poor comfort to be able to exclaim, 'We told you so!'

Examples are abundant of the lack of a united policy. What is to be done about Italy? The formula 'unconditional surrender' is meaningless; in fact there is said to exist an official list of conditions under which 'unconditional surrender,' could be secured! A campaign in Italy naturally leads on to operations in the Balkans. In those countries the position could not be more muddled or more obscure. Certain Britishers have long supported General Mihailovitch; other Britishers have lent support to the so-called Partisans. It is all very well to talk about 'facts'; but the facts of the Balkan position are exceedingly hard to come by. At one time the Soviet press was applauding the Partisans; and was expressing extreme disapproval of General Mihailovitch and all his works. At a later period it was taking up a neutral attitude. Many people have talked as if the Partisans were essentially Communists; some of the Partisans, however, have been at pains to tell the world that they are not Communists, and that respect for private property forms an integral part of their constitution. Mihailovitch certainly appears to represent the Serbian, as opposed to the Croat, or the Yugoslav federal element. It also seems to be an essential part of his policy to play a waiting game. The Partisans, on the other hand, are strongest amongst the Croats; they appear to represent the local people on the spot, and those who want to get at the enemy at once. There is, on the whole, very little to recommend General Mihailovitch, who is at best a 'cloak and sword' officer of the old Serbian school. My enthusiasm for his cause is not enhanced by the fact that he has won the applause of Mr. Voigt of the *Nineteenth Century*. Meanwhile the Yugoslav Government in London, in spite of two recent changes, remains thoroughly unsatisfactory. The latest Cabinet, which is *en route* for Cairo, consists entirely of civil servants; but they were supporters of the Pro-Nazi régime overthrown on 27 March 1941. It is no exaggeration that the young King Peter is the best statesman the Yugoslavs possess in this country, and he has no friends to support him.

There are similar difficulties in regard to Greece. Great play has been made with the news that our authorities are now in touch with a united organisation of Greek guerrillas. I am informed that, in fact, the authorities are in touch with all Greek guerrillas, except those who count for anything! The gentlemen we are supporting are isolated groups of



KING PETER, *descendant of the revolutionary peasant Kara George, or Black George, 1766–1817, the founder of Serbian independence from the Turks. The first picture taken with his fiancée, Princess Alexandra, niece of the King of the Greeks*

cloak and swordsmen; and the real people we have left severely alone. The Greek situation is complicated by the fact that very large numbers of the Greeks do not like their King. A great many Greeks do not want a monarchy at all; while others feel that King George II has been much too closely associated with extreme Right Wing groups, including the late dictator, Metaxas; and, in any case, that he is an amiable gentleman, but definitely a lightweight, not to say a bantam monarch in the political arena. It is a tragic commonplace that relations between Poland and the Soviet Union are most unhappy. Poland suffered an irreparable loss in the death of General Sikorski.

The North African imbroglio could scarcely be more intense. On the one hand, it appears that the United States thought that they had secured a 'yes man' in the person of General Giraud; on the other hand, the character and ambition of General de Gaulle provide increasing cause for both alarm and despondency. It is not possible to lend any support to the policy which the State Department were hoping to carry out in North Africa, and later in metropolitan France. On the other hand, there is less than no guarantee that if de Gaulle had his way democratic conditions and institutions would be permitted to flourish in the new France. Alarming reports are coming from Algiers of de Gaulle's further high-handed actions. Meanwhile, the Committee of Liberation has not been recognised by the major Allies. The obvious solution would have been to accord early recognition and support to this Committee, in the hope that civilian, legal, and legitimate elements within it would come to the fore. The British, and still more the Russian, Foreign Offices were long desirous of according this recognition, but allowed themselves to be overruled by the State Department. It is difficult to comprehend why the State Department continued to refuse recognition. Apparently, however, they suffered from a very acute sense of pique that their schemes had not gone according to plan. The effect has been disastrous, even from their own point of view; and has thrown many men into the waiting arms of General de Gaulle. Bearing in

mind that recognition has been given to all the other Allies, great and small, including Belgium and Luxembourg, the conduct of the State Department has constituted a terrible affront to the *amour propre* of the French people. The American censorship arrangements in North Africa have been attacked by the *News Chronicle*, and other British newspapers. Correspondents, other than actual war correspondents, have not been permitted to remain in the country. Actually official British and Russian agents have not been welcomed in this new *terra incognita*.

The relations between the United States and the Argentine Republic are deteriorating. The new Government of General Ramirez has not come up to expectations at all, and has been under heavy fire from the American press.

It has failed to break off diplomatic relations with Berlin, though the Argentine Foreign Minister gave a personal promise to Mr. Armour, the American Ambassador, that it would do so. Mr. Armour has now packed up his traps and gone back to Washington in high dudgeon, leaving Argentina without an Ambassador. The United States has also cut off nearly all exports to the Argentine Republic. There is no doubt that the Argentines do not get on well with the *Americanos del Norte*; and it is a pity that relations with the Argentine have not been left more in British hands. The fact remains, as Dr. Carcano, the Argentine Ambassador to London, emphasised the other day, that Europe and Britain remain the most important markets for Argentine products. Even if it is true that the northern states of South America will come more and more into the United States sphere of influence after the war, the same cannot be said about the southern states, for economic and nationalist reasons. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to postulate that after victory the United States will be faced with a similar position in regard to South Americans as the British were with the American colonists after the successful conclusion of the Seven Years' War and the defeat of France. The menace of Hitler having been removed, the South Americans will feel even less in the mood than they are today to pass under United States tutelage.

* * *

In the meantime Marshal Stalin's press continues to urge the start of a Second Front, and in no unmeasured terms. The Russians have said publicly that they do not regard the campaign in Sicily as constituting a Second Front. This, because the amount of German divisions involved is comparatively so small. The Russians are harbouring the idea that, whilst the British and the Americans are speeding up the technical war against the Nazis, they tend to be very sparing of their manpower. It is, naturally, very difficult to estimate what German forces, if any, have been kept in the interior of Germany to deal with our great Blitz against the industrial cities of the Rhine and the Ruhr. Some say that this menace has been dealt with by the ordinary German A.R.P. workers, who would have been there in any case. Some of our newspapers have undoubtedly given the impression that the Rhine-Ruhr area still constitutes the whole, or the major part, of German industrial effort. Actually, it is no more than 40 per cent. Most Nazi industry is in eastern Austria and Silesia; which, up to now, have been beyond the range of a single bomb. (The occupation of the airfields of northern Italy would, of course, enable us to bomb these areas.) The Russians do not seem fully to appreciate the significance of the U-boat war

in the Atlantic. It is certainly a pity that Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin cannot all get together into the same building. Churchill has indeed visited Stalin, but Roosevelt has not done so. Roosevelt can now no longer leave 'the home ground' until after next year's presidential election.

* * *

It remains extremely difficult to discover exactly what is going on inside China. It is undoubtedly unfortunate that Madame Chiang Kai-Shek felt persuaded to adopt such anti-British views, which she did not hesitate to air upon the public platform in America. Almost a majority of the Chinese tend to regard America as a better friend for China than Britain. In adopting this view, are they not looking back too much into the past, when Britain stood at the head of the 'foreign devils' in the celestial empire? It would be reasonably objective to state that Britain is a more liberal and easy-going proposition for a weak country than any other great power, provided it is assumed that the British Foreign Office is energetic and strong enough to be worth bothering about at all! The First Lady of China has shown signs of, at any rate, physical strain, brought about no doubt by the perils of her unfortunate country. Actually towards the end of her stay in the United States she became increasingly tactless, and finally got in all wrong with the folk at Washington.

Mr. Roosevelt is said to want the entire European incident 'all rolled up, and in the bag' in nine months' time, so that he may have a worthy dish to offer to the electorate. His critics argue that, after the defeat of Hitler, so long as some governments are fixed up in Europe, he does not greatly care about the nature or composition of these governments, or whether they are truly democratic. He certainly has indicated that he feels confident that, if there is anything wrong with them, he can be trusted to set them right again by a deft touch at the last moment. Some commentators suggest that this is a further proof of the increasing arrogance which such a long spell of power is investing him with. It is undoubtedly a fact that a number of men who are otherwise his ardent admirers are becoming filled with something like a religious terror at the thought of a fourth term. The idea of a fourth term does not worry anybody in Britain; he is not our President. I am personally a great admirer of Mr. Roosevelt, of his New Deal, and of his foreign policy; but, looking for a moment through American spectacles, I am bound to admit that there is something peculiar about the same man insisting upon standing for four terms of office. I have never quite understood why Mr. Roosevelt has not been able to 'groom for stardom' friends or disciples, who could carry on his liberal policies, whilst he himself vacates the White House. It is also unfortunate that Mr. Roosevelt has now definitely lost the support of Mr. Henry A. Wallace, his very liberal Vice-President. Mr. Roosevelt has described himself as 'a quarter back'. A quarter-back is, apparently, a member of an American football team who has to do something with the ball very quickly, without working out long-term policies as to its destination. If this is the case, he bears a certain resemblance to Mr. Winston Churchill! Opponents of Mr. Roosevelt insist that what long views there are in the President's entourage are the wrong views, and are somewhat reactionary ones. Mr. Bill Bullett is cited in this connection. Admiral Leahy, when he is not busy being an Admiral, is said

MR. MURPHY *of Milwaukee, former Chargé d'Affaires at Vichy, and now chief agent of State Department reaction at Algiers. Somebody is giving him a medal!*

to cherish sentimental recollections of the courteous treatment he and his family received at the hands of the men of Vichy. One is sometimes tortured by the thought that the Americans are not really sufficiently interested in what sort of governments succeed Mussolini and Hitler in Europe. After all Europe is not just an inflated Nicaragua or Santo Domingo. There are great democratic forces at large in Europe; and if these are not given full vent there will be no lasting peace, to say the very least of it. The Treaty of Vienna of 1815 is sometimes praised because it did not unduly humiliate the French people. There is a good deal of truth in this. However, the great trouble about it was that it refused altogether to give a place to the growing liberalism of Europe. In place of the unlawful government of Napoleon, it was content to set up outmoded reactionary régimes, which possessed no chance of ultimate survival. Most of our history books praise the British foreign policy of the nineteenth century for pouring cold water upon the reactionary Holy Alliance, which was constituted to keep down liberalism, whilst moving off into its classical posture of splendid isolation. It is likely that Europe might be a better place today had Britain abandoned isolation immediately after Waterloo, and placed herself at the head of a federal liberal movement for Europe. As regards the United States, whilst there are many excellent citizens, to say nothing of leagues and associations, who are travailing for the triumph of liberal and federalising movements on the European Continent, these persons unfortunately do not constitute a pressure group in the effective sense. What pressure groups there are, made up of bankers and the like, are using their influence in favour of the setting up of a series of gilded bankers' regimes on the distressful Continent.

One is often tempted to ask which would be the best, from the point of view of international settlement, the return of Roosevelt, or the return of a 'decent' Republican, such as Willkie, who has liberal views on international matters. Miss Freda Kirchway, owner and editor of *The Nation,* whom I asked about this, replied that the return of

Willkie would not really be so satisfactory for us. Although Roosevelt has had to go into reverse in home affairs—in fact has had to chuck most of the New Deal down the drain—nevertheless he is still getting support from folk like the Southern Democrats for his international policy. Whereas Willkie would be nothing like so sure of this support; and, on the other hand, would be much more subject to pressure from all the most reactionary elements in the international field.

There are many problems between ourselves and the Americans which need to be worked out; and the best Americans agree that it is best to face these problems openly and squarely. It remains true that the ideas governing the Keynes (or White Paper) on an international currency are fundamentally divergent from those governing the Morgenthau (or White Plan). The American plan does not recognise that the responsibility for securing equilibrium in international trade rests as much upon creditor as upon debtor countries.

'The World Trade Alliance', which is sponsored by Sir Edgar Jones, the tinplate magnate, was inaugurated the other day with a great flourish at an immense luncheon at the Waldorf Hotel. It has been a bit difficult to get people's reactions to this plan. The essence of it is that all countries obviously have a certain amount of essential imports. This gives them an equal amount of essential exports. They would be permitted to export up to this figure. Additional exports would be acquired by a special commission, and given, on Lease-Lend principles, to such backward countries as China. The funds for this latter purpose would be obtained by a levy on all participating countries. There would be an organisation to deal with each separate commodity of export, since the conditions relative to each commodity are so different. The existence of many international trade agreements before the war is cited as a proof of feasibility. These agreements covered a number of foodstuffs, raw materials and manufactured goods. Some of them were arranged, wholly or in part, by government officials, and their terms were published; though most of them were private, if not secret, arrangements between national or semi-national industrial organisations, or between industrial enterprises. The example is also quoted of the draft convention for the regulation of the international trade in wheat. This was approved in 1942 by the governments of Argentina, Australia, Canada and the United States, each of which have a great interest in the wheat export trade; and the United Kingdom, on the other hand, which has a great interest in the wheat import trade. Sir Edgar Jones emphasises that his plan is not the sort of cartel which is designed to restrict production, but, on the other hand, its object is expansion. The idea is that these matters should be arranged in their details by bodies of business men, though state officials would come in at the top. On the face of it, there is everything to recommend this plan. Some will no doubt be suspicious that it is yet another cartel to keep up prices and, above all, to make international arrangements unknown to the public at large. It is claimed that a great measure of support has been gained for the plan, both in this country and in the United States, amongst business men; and that a number of important trade union leaders are also highly impressed by it. It could, of course, be argued that this is yet another producers' organisation, and

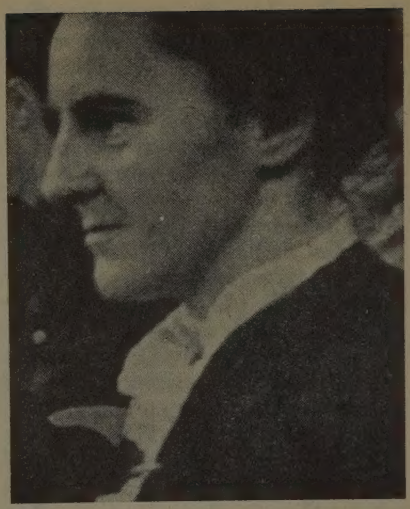
that consumers will once more suffer. The speech of Lord Davidson at the inaugural luncheon has been criticised; because he argued that it was essential to preserve reasonably high prices for the world's commodities. The answer to that might well be that consumers and, in the end producers, would be far better served by the establishment of low prices. Sir Edgar Jones deserves much credit for his energy in propounding so enterprising a plan; it is patent that something of this nature will urgently be required by the world. If the plan comes into operation the test will be the real spirit in which it is operated.

Meanwhile our spirits sink when we contemplate the continued weakness of our Foreign Office. The efficiency of our industrial organisation, which is at last in good working order, and the growing successes of our army can hardly be said to be reflected in the strength with which Britain's case is put before the world. It is Britain which should take the lead in Europe after the war, and be the leading advocate of the democratic way of life. The heads of our Foreign Office want watching; the people must see that they keep up to the mark, and do not permit our soldiers and workers to fight and toil in vain.

All is not well on the Beveridge Front. Sir William came back from America to find that the ordinary men and women of the country felt deeply upset that the Plan had not been implemented by the government; and were becoming disinclined to discuss the Plan at all, or even to keep it in the forefront of their minds. At Edinburgh, Sir William made a splendid fighting speech; and flattened out Mr. Osbert Peake, the Parliamentary Under Secretary to the Home Office. This little Minister had stated that, 'want can only be abolished by regimentation', and Sir William rightly described this effort as 'an insult to intelligence'. Mr. Peake accused Sir William of setting his Plan 'in too florid and extravagant a frame, and raising hopes of the abolition of want which cannot be fulfilled'. To the Young Conservatives of Oxford, Mr. Peake declaimed, 'So long as men are free to spend their money as they please, there will be homes in which want exists. Want can be abolished only by a system of regimentation such as that in the armed forces, or in internment camps, where men are regularly fed, decently housed, and the necessaries of life provided for them from day to day.' Sir William wrote in his Report that his Plan takes the abolition of want as its

OUR OSBERT!
'Want can only be abolished by regimentation', *says the Little Minister*

aim. By these words, he did not mean to raise hopes that his Plan would abolish all imperfections of human nature, and make all men spend wisely every penny that they receive. By 'abolition of want' he does not mean anything but that every citizen should at all times have an income sufficient to meet his responsibilities. The sinister significance of Mr. Peake is that, by asserting that a few will spend unwisely, he is making another excuse for depriving all of the minimum needed for subsistence; and making no attempt at all to abolish want. Can we afford the Beveridge Plan? It is needful to reassert that the plan is first and foremost a plan for distributing income, so as to put first things first—money for bread for all at all times, before there is money for cake for anybody. Opponents of the plan are putting about the idea that it is contingent on certain events, such as a certain amount of national wealth, or a certain level of employment. This is entirely false! Whilst it is true that a plan for full employment, such as Sir William is now working upon, is contingent on many things, including the state of international trade, the Beveridge Insurance Plan happens to be one of those things which is not really dependent on anything; and can be said to be extremely self-contained. It has got nothing to do with exports or international affairs, or even the amount of wealth we have in the country. It is really the reverse! If we were going to be very prosperous indeed, there would not be much point in having the Plan at all! The poorer we are, the more it will be necessary to distribute fairly our wealth, including that of the working class itself. Not so much to cut our coat according to our cloth, as in the old adage, but to see that there is some covering for all.



MRS. JOAN CLARKE, *Hon. Sec. of The Social Security League. Married Mr. Clarke, the economic journalist, in 1938, while studying Social Services at University of Chicago. Co-author of* Social Security, *edited by W. A. Robson*

It looks now as if the Government may not introduce any legislation until after the war; and it has by no means promised to give us the whole Plan even then. Sir William has pointed out that there is no reason at all why the Plan should not be put into operation at once!

The Social Security League exists to see that the plan is put upon the Statute Book. We must not be put off by half-promises, nor confused by smoke-screens; nor must we allow ourselves to be killed by kind words. We should insist that a Bill be drafted at once, and legislation introduced without further delay. I earnestly appeal to everybody to join The Social Security League. The address is 51 Tothill Street, London, S.W.1. Contributions, great or small, are urgently required. Let us take this first practical step towards the building of the New Britain!

OUTLINE OF A PLAN

THOMAS BALOGH

Dr. Balogh, the eminent economist, wrote a previous article in this series, describing the revolution in economic *theory*. Here we have what he suggests to carry that theory into *practice*.

We shall begin by discussing the professed aims of British economic policy after the war. We shall then attempt to survey the general background and inquire whether the prospective international position of the country has been fully taken into account by the partisans of the different schools of thought. Finally, we shall try to outline a *minimum* programme of reform necessary to safeguard the internal progress and the international position of the country.

Given the historical background and the present social structure of Britain, any solution which could prove acceptable to a majority must be in the nature of a compromise. It might be argued that such a compromise is impracticable, not so much for intrinsic technical economic reasons but because of the inveterate opposition of the vested interests now in power. This may well prove to be the case. The failure will then result in a slow but steady deterioration in the international position of this country. Finally, some outside event or the fear of further deterioration will lead to a forcible solution either of the 'Left' or of the 'Right'—presumably of the 'Right'. But in discussing a rational approach to our problems this contingency must be disregarded. It is those who oppose a compromise, framed in keeping with British political traditions, who court the disaster of a violent and open internal struggle.

1

THE AIMS

Progressives in general conceive the aim of economic policy as maximising current consumption by securing full employment and guaranteeing a national 'minimum' to everyone. They argue that this defines the working of the system itself. To this end all reforms must ruthlessly be accomplished. The community as a whole, however, organised as a State, has, in their view, no ulterior tasks. The Conservatives in their turn would now seldom dispute this last thesis. They would only insist that the 'effective demand', i.e. the distribution of the national income as it originates from the interplay of free market forces, must not be drastically modified, e.g. by taxation. Such interference beyond a certain point would be incompatible with the maintenance of the present economic system, and the Conservatives would argue that the maintenance of what they term 'political liberty' (which their opponents would term 'economic privilege') must take precedence over all other considerations. They would avoid a dilemma, between the task of securing full employment and that of maintaining these 'liberties', by a policy of public works which does not interfere with the profitability of private business and by a generous provision of relief, provided it is frankly regarded as relief.

If the Conservatives regard the task of eliminating unemployment as a means by which social discontent could be overcome, the Progressives envisage it solely as a means to increase the current consumption of the masses.

Neither the usual 'Conservative' nor the 'Progressive' approach seems adequate. There can be no 'purely economic' approach to the problem of post-war policy because the *ends* of that policy necessarily influence the choice.

Proposals which disregard the first necessity of securing Britain's influence in the world and at the same time of securing that this influence will be exerted in the right direction, must come to grief.

In the present paper the view is put forward that this country has, at any rate to a large extent, lost her freedom of choice. Britain's future international position, even under the most favourable hypothesis, imperatively calls for an economic solution far more 'collectivist' in character than most people either on the Right or on the Left are willing to contemplate. Her world power

before the last war (and even more in the nineteenth century) was based on several factors, all of which have disappeared, or have at least been weakened, since 1914. It was based, first of all, on a fast growing population which in absolute numbers was of the same order of magnitude as that of most other big Powers. It was based, secondly, on the high productivity of her industries, which had enjoyed a considerable start over that of all other countries. This advantage had secured her a privileged position among the exporting nations. Last, but not least, it was based on her favourable strategic position, which rendered her militarily invulnerable as long as her battle fleet secured the control over the sea routes and which placed her economically in the centre of the main trade routes between industrial and primary producing countries. There existed no first-class Powers outside the Continent of Europe. And on the Continent England nearly always[1] succeeded in maintaining the balance of power by suitable alliances.

Unless post-war differences between the victors lead to a renewed resurgence of Germany and Japan, only two basically powerful protagonists will remain in world affairs, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Britain and China, without thorough reforms, will—though for almost diametrically opposite reasons—have to be content to play a secondary rôle. Not unless China can effectively industrialise herself could she rise from that position. Britain, on the other hand, must broaden her economic and manpower base considerably if there is to be any hope of her being able to play an active part in shaping world affairs.

The U.S.A. constitute a vast continent, self-supporting except for a few raw materials, and are likely to be even more self-supporting in consequence of this war. Their self-sufficiency is, in the main, due to the bountiful natural wealth of the continent.

Russia, though poor in terms of the standard of life of the Western Powers, has in the last fifteen years made the most startling economic progress of any nation at any time, based on her vast and still largely unknown natural resources. She has succeeded in building up an industrial structure within the last ten years strong enough to contain the attack of a war machine based on the whole of the industrial wealth and skill of a forcibly united Europe. She has been more weakened by the war than the Western Powers. Her economic system, however, enables her to enforce savings and undertake investment, i.e. develop her economic strength, on a scale which in individualist societies would be impracticable. If this system were to be devoted to increasing the standard of life of the mass of the people, it would inevitably attract the population of most European countries which, because of their poverty and relative small size, could not bear the burden of such a rate of progress without grave hardship on a considerable part of their population. At the same time the economic war potential of the country would rise *pari passu*. Not for nothing did Hitler invade Russia in 1941 instead of trying to reduce Africa and the Middle East.

Sandwiched between these extremely powerful economic giants, Britain in isolation would inevitably feel herself on an uneasy perch. With the elimination of the Axis a strictly European balance of power would completely lose all meaning. It will automatically be replaced by a world balance of power. The Commonwealth could not, in the long run, maintain herself in isolation unless a stable peace system could be secured. But the weakness of Britain would render the emergence of such a system improbable.

Britain could, of course, renounce all pretensions to being a world power and endeavour to concentrate on the arts of peace. A position similar to that, for example, of Denmark or Holland before the war has many advantages. Such a policy, however, could not be envisaged by the protagonists of the Right, and certainly not by the Prime Minister who flatly declared that he does not intend to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. But the critics of the Churchillian attitude on the Left would also do well to reflect upon the implications of such a policy, not only for this country but for the world as a whole. If, indeed, a complete world union could be accomplished which permitted economic and social planning on a world-wide scale and which once and for all secured peace, the task of national States or regional Unions could be confined to carrying out any necessary internal reforms. Such a state of affairs would imply a complete renunciation of political and economic sovereignty and the willingness of different parts of the globe to submit to policies which would tend to bring them at a determined pace into equality with one another, even without being bound by special ties. This assumption is not very realistic at present.

Thus the concept of a world balance of power

[1] On the one occasion when she had to fight a coalition the loss of the American Empire was the consequence.

retains its relevance even after the Nazi ambitions for racial or national domination have been crushed. It is the key to the freedom for internal political action for a regional block, untrammelled by any other power, i.e. to the pursuit of progressive economic and social policies over a wide enough area to permit economically effective action.

In my view, Britain could achieve such freedom of action only if she succeeded in unifying Western Europe (with due regard to the legitimate desire of the U.S.S.R. for security) and in establishing an economic and social system which could command the enthusiastic support of all. Effective economic planning, securing full and efficient employment, established over this area and its connected empire would create an economic system, large enough to permit intensive economic development, and strong enough to resist unjustified economic interference. The organisation of such a union would inevitably entail some sacrifice on the part of Britain, which undoubtedly possesses the highest standard of life, i.e. the best means to help in the development of others. Yet this sacrifice would be more than justified in its fruits, by preserving the possibility of the continuance of the traditional development of this country.

Even if Nazidom is smashed there will remain fundamentally divergent aims in the social and economic systems of the main Allied countries. Britain, in these circumstances, would exert a valuable and effective influence only if her mediation was backed by economic strength. Otherwise Britain would lose her freedom to evolve a specific solution of her post-war problems, in keeping with the history and traditions of this country and she would be forced by the need for securing foreign help to accommodate herself to the wishes of what might be quite frankly called a protecting Power, in all likelihood the U.S.A. If, after the war, the economic union of Europe, at least of Western Europe (which also implies close political union), is not accomplished, no stable political and economic system can be built. Continued reliance on the balance of power in Europe and a renewed backing of reactionary elements in each of the constituent units of that divided Europe, must bear bitter fruits. The union of Europe will be accomplished either by Britain or against Britain. It will be accomplished somehow, because it is only the reactionary privileged classes who oppose it, and those classes, as we have seen in Spain, Italy, Poland and Hungary, cannot create strong economic systems, because strength demands planned economic development over wide areas. In the meantime, Britain's strength outside the European Continent would decline, because she would be forced to expand her energies in the attempt to protect the European *status quo*.

In default of a progressive Western European Union under British leadership, the result is likely to be either a unification of Europe by Russia or, if the Anglo-Saxon countries use a temporary weakness of Russia to try to exclude her from Europe, a renaissance of the policy of Russo-German collaboration, into which Russia and Germany were driven after the last war and which was only ended by Hitler's mania. Such a Russo-German combination would possess overwhelming force.

Britain excluded from, and at the same time menaced by, a unified Europe would inevitably drift into being a client state of the U.S.A. But neither the problems, the background nor the social development of the two countries is sufficiently similar to produce harmony.[1] Some of the privileged classes in Britain—like the Protestant landowners of Ireland—might not find this dependence unpleasing; but to the community as a whole it would be disastrous.

The British Empire, serving as a basis for a wider Western European Federation, regenerated by the war, and reformed in its political, economic and social content, could contribute much to the emergence of a new and better world. A waning of British influence, indeed, under the conditions which are likely to obtain after the end of the war, would probably lead, not to harmony and progress, but to renewed catastrophe. There are no competitors for a progressive leadership of the scattered areas in which British influence now prevails. Britain could moreover provide the compromise solution and thus the link between the divergent economic and social systems of the United Nations, when they are no longer united by the imminent threat of Nazi domination.

But all hopes for such an increase in Britain's international influence must disappear if Britain remains internally and externally the protagonist of the *status quo*. *A renaissance in Britain* is the *condition of a renaissance in the world* at large; and a British failure would mean more than merely the decline of the Empire.

These considerations indicate that an essential condition for the emergence of a more stable world order is that Britain should stand at the head of a progressive Western European Union,

[1] *Cf.* Agar: *A Time for Greatness*.

strong enough to be an equal partner with the United States and Russia. Only such a strong and progressive economic bloc can play the rôle of a mediator and actively pursue a middle course between the divergent social and economic systems in the United States and Russia.

If, however, Britain has not only to undertake her own reconstruction, but at the same time to take a leading hand in the re-settlement of Europe and the transformation of the Empire into a Commonwealth, then the extent of her post-war economic problem will be a formidable one.

Under no conceivable conditions, however fully and efficiently Britain's available resources are engaged, can she hope to overtake or parallel American national income. Even to raise her investment capacity to the necessary level would involve abandonment of an economic system in which the rate of economic progress is determined by voluntary decisions of individuals as individuals and not acting collectively. In order to sustain the effort required, Britain's economic potential must not only be fully employed: not only must she ruthlessly eradicate technical inefficiency, which hampered her production before the war and reduced her output per head far below that of the United States: but radical changes must be made if this effort is to be canalised in directions (i.e. increased investment) which are necessary to guarantee national survival in unfavourable circumstances.

2

THE MEANS

The achievement of these tasks under the *laisser-faire* automatic system of individualistic enterprise is impossible. Planning in the sense of a continuous and conscious collective determination of the economic activities of the community as a whole, directing, stimulating and controlling the efforts of individuals, is necessary. The problem remains of how to resolve the dilemma between conscious planning, with the necessary compulsion to put the plans into effect, and the freedom of the individual which must be preserved.

In discussing the means to be adopted, compatible with the maintenance of a politically free democracy, two important considerations have to be borne in mind:

First, it is often ignored that the individualist capitalist system does not work without compulsion. The price and cost relationships, which emerge from the market mechanism, force employers by bankrutpcy and workers by unemployment to undertake changes to which they would otherwise not submit. It is the whip of destitution which enforces the direction of production according to demand.

Secondly, it must be borne in mind that full employment even in a true sense of the word need not entail such regimentation, especially over man-power, as has been evolved in Russia, Germany, and latterly even in this country by the impetus of the rearmament programme. The maximum physical effort will not be the sole aim set before the country in peace; there is no need to contemplate the continuation of the present superhuman effort. The leisure of the population is, within certain limits, one of the main aims of Government policy. If working hours can be kept at levels below physical maximum (i.e. roughly at 7–8 hours a day) this in itself can provide the reserves for any temporary spurt required by economic emergencies; it would provide the flexibility necessary to remove bottlenecks. New sanctions will be needed to obtain labour mobility and efficiency, as well as smooth adaptation by managements, once the threat of unemployment and destitution has been removed.

Both workers and employers will have to rely on *political* rather than economic safeguards to obtain *economic* security. *An economic system which is not consciously planned in the interests of all its members must tend towards sectional monopolism and thus retrogression.* For in such a system it is scarcity and not full effort which secures high remuneration. This basic stumbling-block in the way of progress can be removed only if both employers and workers are confident that the economic disarmament of either will not be followed by aggression on the part of the other, just as in international affairs disarmament is not possible unless some supernational authority is firmly established. Such confidence can only be secured if workers are made full partners in a system of conscious planning and direct control.

Provided full co-operation can be obtained from both sides, private enterprise need not be eliminated in fields where it can contribute its share. Indeed, it should be stimulated. The reform of the present system suggested by Britain's post-war problems would by no means be wholly unfavourable to 'business'. Increased stability and collective sharing of inevitable burdens would undoubtedly lighten the business man's lot just as it ensures better conditions to

workers. Once an economic system can be energised to full effort, the resulting increase in production is so vast as to benefit all, at the same time as making possible the abolition of injustice to the weakest.

Where are the sources of new strength which can be tapped for the tasks which seem beyond our capacity?

Britain, in this as in the last war, has succeeded in performing an effort which orthodox economists within and without the Government on both occasions quite openly declared impossible. Millions of men and women were withdrawn from productive employment, between 40 per cent and 50 per cent of the remainder was devoted to the war effort. Yet, even if we exclude the consumption of capital and loans from abroad (including Lend-Lease) as temporary means of support, she succeeded in maintaining the standard of life of her population on levels distinctly higher than the level to which it had fallen during the great depression. She succeeded in doing so only partly by establishing full employment in the true sense of the word.

From a reduction of the level of unemployment to about 300,000 in contrast to that of almost two millions even in the most prosperous years before the war, and of some 1–1¼ millions which might be expected in the best circumstances without reforms after the war, an additional national production of £250 to £350 millions per annum (at 1938 prices) could be gained. To this has to be added an unknown number, mainly women, perhaps as much as half a million, who would in these circumstances be eager to stay in gainful employment other than domestic service. This would mean a further addition of some £100–£150 millions per annum. However important, this factor accounted for only a part, probably a smaller part, of the expansion and the tremendous vigour of the war effort.

A far more important source of latent productive power could be derived from the elimination of unnecessary services and of inefficient excess capacity which were consequences of long years of monopolistic restrictions. It would not be too optimistic to assume that national real income could be increased by the abolition of waste in industry and distribution to the extent of 25 to 30 per cent. This might mean a further gain of the order of magnitude of between £500 and £1,000 millions or more per annum in national real income at pre-war prices. The abolition of restraints on progress would also substantially accelerate the yearly increase in productivity.

These figures demonstrate that once the problem of achieving a balanced progressive economy after the war has been solved by employing the available productive resources fully and efficiently and by solving the foreign trade problem, the economic basis for a complete solution of our internal social and international political problems could be provided.

3

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

Within the limits of space allotted to me by the Editor I cannot here do more than give a precis of the steps that, in my opinion, would take this country on the right path. I have tried, however, in the following summary to set out the ideas sufficiently clearly for the reader to understand my recommendations even though the argument is not developed in detail.[1]

I. POLICY

(1) FULL EMPLOYMENT MUST BE STABILISED BY:

A. The State maintaining the level of money income:

(*a*) By maintaining consumption by:

(1) the provision of social security appropriately financed.

(2) the elimination of monopolies.

(3) the reduction of indirect taxation which falls heavily on the consumption of the poor.

(4) the provision of necessary social services.

(5) subsidising the consumption of commodities and services (including housing), the lack of which affects productivity and which are not sufficiently widely consumed under the existing distribution of incomes.

(*b*) By stimulating investment:

(1) by its own public works policy; especially also in the Colonies; by helping destroyed areas;

(2) by the investment policy of industries directly controlled;

[1] See my book about to be published: *The Economic Foundation of Britain's International Future.* (Kegan Paul, 1943.)

(3) by stimulating private investment through tax reforms and the provision of capital for new businesses, business extensions and capital projects.

The State will have to establish a Capital Budget, to render investment policy effective, financed by loans and/or by taxation.[1]

B. By preventing an inflationary spiral, resulting from the policy of full employment:

(*a*) By a national wage policy and compulsory arbitration.

(*b*) By control over private investment (and prices, *cf.* below under (*II*) A).

Capital investment should be met by taxation if consumption threatens to rise as a result of these measures beyond the desired level. The provision of a decent and increasing minimum standard of life for all must be considered as the first charge on the national income.

(*II*) THE EFFICIENCY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE IMPROVED:

A. By a maximum price and minimum wage policy for all important industries, which takes due account of the most efficient production technique, reinforced by the reform of patent laws to prevent sterilisation or abuse of patents.

B. By the continuation of the production of standardised manufactured goods (utility goods) at controlled prices. Tax reform should be used to discourage excessive competitive advertising and salesmanship: in these ways the present excessive cost of distribution could be lowered.

C. Direct State control should be established over all industries which are by nature monopolistic. In this category belong public utility services, such as water, gas, electricity and transport; certain natural resources such as coal, iron ore and timber, whose supply is limited or has widely varying costs; finally, industries where efficient units of production are so large as to preclude the free entry of new competitors.[2]

Compensation schemes might be established in industries which are controlled indirectly (i.e. by price and wage control) in order to speed readjustment without imposing unequal sacrifice.

D. In order to ensure efficient planning of towns and utilisation of land, the ownership of land should either be nationalised or pooling arrangements made to enable central planning, including agriculture. The location of industry should be decided upon on the basis of social, and not existing private, costs, i.e. with due consideration to the indirect repercussions of the establishment of new and/or the extension of existing factories on the community—e.g. housing, transport, etc. Should the control of industrial location result in an increase in the cost of production to individual entrepreneurs, this should be offset by a modification of transport and other public utility charges. This would be possible if public utilities were under State control. The alleviation of charges should be available to all without discrimination.

(*III*) A MORE EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME must be secured, but taxation should be modified (e.g. by the introduction of a graduated capital tax and similar measures) to minimise the deterrent effect of progressive taxation on individual initiative. Taxation should be reformed, to limit, wherever possible, the incidence of taxation on marginal income derived from additional effort.

(*IV*) GENERAL POLICY:

A. Social security should be guaranteed in the sense that all who are at work, and those who are unemployed not by their own fault, should be assured a reasonable minimum standard of life. The finance of the appropriate schemes should be met by general, and not by special (which usually means regressive),

[1] If consumption has to be severely curtailed, there might have to be a continuation of rationing. In deciding whether to finance by taxation or by loans, the prime consideration should be the maintenance of full employment; the secondary consideration, the effect on incentive; but some importance should be attached to the requirements of achieving a better distribution of national wealth.

[2] *Cf.* also (*I*) A. (*a*) (2)—on page 15.

taxation.[1] It must be borne in mind that social security and a full employment policy do not and cannot mean that workers, managers and investors *in any given industry* can be guaranteed wages or profits, however inefficient they are or however the demand for their product may have changed. It means that all have a reasonable expectation of help and opportunity to adapt themselves to the new position and that destitution and bankruptcy will be replaced by State co-operative planning as a means of enforcing economic readjustment.

B. Part of the fruit of the increased efficiency and effort will have to be diverted to help the increase in the standard of life of the Empire and Europe. Only a part of this can be accomplished in the form of new interest-bearing private investment. As far as the Colonies are concerned, their standard of life should be increased by applying the same principles of price and wage regulation as well as direct State control over industries, as apply in the Mother Country. This would prevent the present monopolistic exploitation of the Colonies. The system of taxation of the Colonial Empire must be drastically reformed, in order to secure that profits earned by the exploitation of natural resources in those Colonies should be used in the development of those areas.

C. The control over foreign payments and foreign trade must be maintained. A system of international planning of production and exchange of goods and services should be attempted on the basis of the principles elaborated for home policy[2]. Commitments (such as the present Wheat Scheme) by which foreign markets are apportioned by quota agreements, irrespective of the production cost to the exporting countries, thus protecting inefficient producers, should be rejected.

[1] Sir W. Beveridge's Scheme, which places a heavy poll tax on workers and on employment, should accordingly be modified.

[2] Compare the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture.—Hot Springs, U.S.A., 1943 (Command paper 6451).

2. INSTITUTIONAL REFORMS NECESSARY TO PURSUE THESE POLICIES

(*I*) The Civil Service:

(*a*) Recruitment and promotion in the regular Service must be adapted to encourage greater initiative and decision.

(*b*) The selection and remuneration of temporary Civil Servants, especially those entrusted with the management of publicly-owned Corporations, must be on a business basis, including economic incentives for efficiency.

(*II*) Departmental organisation must be remodelled on a functional basis, in accordance with the recommendation of the Haldane Committee, which sat at the end of the last war. A small Cabinet deciding general policy should be continued. A Ministry of Employment should be established, charged with the duty of maintaining full employment. This Ministry should assemble, supervise and present to Parliament the State Capital Budget, including the investment of all Departments, of Public Corporations and investment abroad. The Budget should be framed on the basis of current estimates of national income, consumption and investment; the Treasury to continue to be responsible for the supervision of all current expenditure and for the financial supervision of capital expenditure decided upon. The control of private investment (including banking policy and capital issues) and the co-ordination of the policy of the raw material controls should also be allotted to the Ministry of Employment. It should further be charged with the general supervision of price and wage policy, which should, however, be executed by the Ministry of Labour and the Board of Trade respectively.

(*III*) The Board of Trade, under the general direction of the Ministry of Employment, would have to be responsible for measures ensuring industrial efficiency. Company Law should be reformed to ensure uniform accountancy and complete publicity on costs and prices. Chartered Accountants should have to submit to the Board detailed reports which should be made the basis of price policy. Industrial

tribunals might be established to hear appeals from the decisions of the Board. All international schemes for the control of production, or prices, or the establishment of stocks, should be made by the Board and not by producing interests. The Board should finally be responsible for the management of such raw material controls as are maintained, and for the production of utility goods. It should have exclusive power in arranging compensation schemes or statutory schemes for the orderly readjustment of the productive structure to new conditions.

(IV) The management of agricultural policy, especially in respect of prices, should not revert to the representatives of producers. If the stimulus to home production through subsidies is continued, it should not take the form of paying uniform prices to cover costs of the highest cost producers, but should, as far as possible, be arranged on the basis of differential prices on long-term purchase agreements. The Ministry of Food should continue to be responsible both for home food prices and the import of basic necessities, the supply of which is secured by long-term agreements. The scope of the Ministry of Agriculture should be restricted to the supervision of efficient production.

(V) Steps must be taken by education to increase the skill available to industry, and by an improved general health service to prevent loss of production.

(VI) To permit a more effective Parliamentary supervision of the Executive, Standing Committees should be formed to supervise and question the Government. Unless Parliamentary democracy can give the Administration the powers it needs to ensure economic stability and progress while retaining ultimate and informed control over it, Democracy will lose in the long run its present supremacy in economic affairs, to systems where decisions are made without consultation and imposed by force.

4

THE PROSPECTS

Reforms on the lines proposed are not revolutionary: they represent an attempt to evolve a compromise between private enterprise and public control, in keeping with the traditions of this country which, at least up to 1914, succeeded in transforming her institutions and adapting her policies without an apparent break in historical evolution and tradition.

The proposals may not be over-cautious; but we cannot afford caution in the post-war years any more than we could in the unhappy period before the war. Caution is nearly the same idea as appeasement. A cautious policy would make a co-ordinated forward move impossible and plunge the country into decay, if not disaster. It is important to initiate measures of internal reform at the earliest possible moment. Only by an earnest of her good intentions can Britain assure for herself leadership among the progressive people of other countries and continents, or hope to strengthen them in their own internal struggles against the forces of reaction.

As yet the implications of the issues are not wholly realised in Britain. As yet the representatives of both the Left and the Right are too intent on safeguarding immediate interests to be able to retain their sense of proportion and keep in sight the ultimate national and international ends. Manifestos are issued but little action follows.

The people of this country must be made to understand and must be warned that it is in their hand to grasp the opportunities which peace will bring, but equally that the present policies and the present attitude of mind, if unchanged, will inevitably lead to poverty for the individual and eventually to the decline of the nation.

Previous articles in this series:—1941, *June,* '*Threshold of a New Age*' *by Herbert Read; July,* '*Transformation in Science*' *by Professor J. B. Bernal, F.R.S.; August,* '*Painting and Sculpture*' *by E. H. Ramsden; September,* '*Life from a New Angle*' *by C. H. Waddington, Sc.D.; October,* '*The New Groundwork of Architecture*' *by John Summerson; November,* '*Matter, Form, Evolution and Us*' *by Dr. Joseph Needham, F.R.S.; December,* '*Man—The Anachronism*' *by Dr. Edward Glover, M.D.*

1942, *January,* '*The Revolution in Literature*' *by Kathleen Raine; February,* '*The Helter-Skelter Universe*' *by J. G. Crowther; April,* '*Exploring the Unseeable*' *by J. G. Crowther; May,* '*The New Politics*' *by Dr. F. Borkenau; July,* '*Democratic Planning and the New Science of Society*' *by Dr. Karl Mannheim; August,* '*The Future of Sociology*' *by Lewis Mumford; October,* '*The Revolution in Education*' *by Dr. C. D. Darlington, F.R.S.; December,* '*The Revolution in Economics*' *by Thomas Balogh.*

1943, *January,* '*This Shrinking World*' *by W. P. Hildred, C.B., O.B.E., M.A.; February,* '*Music in the Twentieth Century*' *by Eric Blom; March,* '*Evolution in Management*' *by George Dickson; April,* '*Changes in Philosophy*' *by John MacMurray; May,* '*The Philosophy of Change*' *by Herbert Read; June,* '*Revolution in the Family*' *by Constance M. Hildred, M.B., Ch.B.; July,* '*The Revolution in Town Planning: Domesday Up to Date*', *by Max Lock, A.R.I.B.A., A.M.T.P.I. August.* '*Films—Today and Tomorrow*' *by Basil Wright.*

WHICH IS THE REAL ITALY?

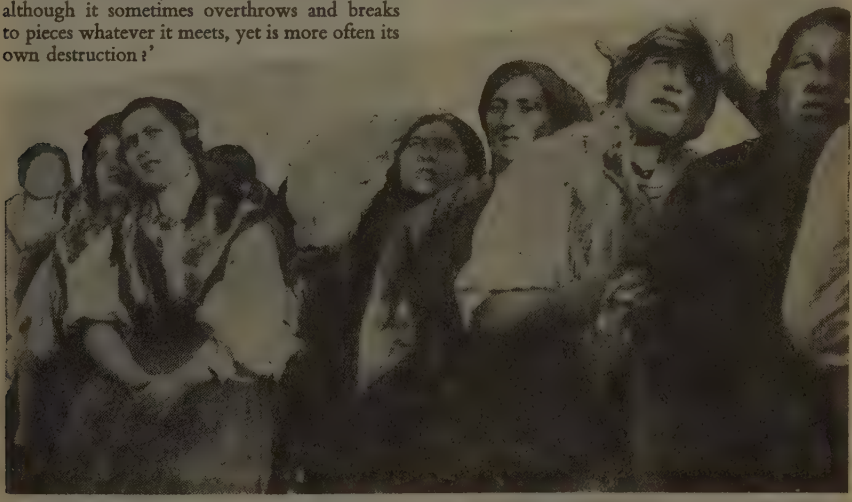
PERCY COLSON

A LITTLE while ago I read in a popular weekly an article on the respective war guiltiness of Nazis and Fascists. One writer considered that there was not much to choose between them and that the same retribution should be exacted from both.

Now such a statement could have been made only by someone with a very superficial knowledge of the Italian character and mentality. War has been both the profession and the favourite hobby of the Germans for at least two thousand years. Among the many writers, ancient and modern, who have testified to their brutality, hatred, envy and general beastliness are Julius Cæsar, Tacitus, Seneca, Froissart and their own famous and idolised Goethe and Nietzsche. Tacitus said of them, 'They hate peace', and Seneca, in his essay on *Anger* wrote, 'When so many thousands of Cimbri and Teutones poured over the Alps, what was it that caused them to perish so completely that no messenger, only common rumour, carried the news of that great defeat to their homes, except that with them anger stood in the place of courage, and anger, although it sometimes overthrows and breaks to pieces whatever it meets, yet is more often its own destruction?'

Fascism, on the other hand, is only some twenty years old, besides which, no two peoples could well be more unlike each other than Italians and Germans. Italians are naturally a highly civilised people. They are hard-working, home-loving, peaceable, cheerful and intensely responsive to kindness. 'The most amiable people in Europe', wrote Samuel Butler. They have, too, the charming characteristic of honouring and rewarding their great men while they are still alive instead of waiting until they are dead. Their famous painters, patriots, composers, have all been national heroes. Unfortunately this capacity for hero-worship has in these last few years been their undoing.

Italy emerged from the last war poverty-stricken, disillusioned and thoroughly dissatisfied with the terms of the Peace. When I was there in 1921 I found the whole country seething with Bolshevism and in a state of turmoil. I arrived in Florence to find both butchers and bakers on strike; then the post ceased to function and the tramways followed suit. From my hotel window I watched the looting of a bootmaker's shop by a



Italian women, amongst a crowd of fifty thousand at a concert conducted by Mascagni, composer of Cavalleria Rusticana, *in the stadium at Rome*

Water carrier

gang of young hooligans. They were throwing the stock-in-trade into the Arno, on whose banks sat laughing boys fishing for shoes. From a window in a tenement on the opposite side of the river, a youth was playfully practising revolver shots. I left for Rome—just in time, as on the following day a general railway strike started —and on arriving I found the streets piled high with refuse, the dustmen having been on strike for several days.

Just when things were at their worst there appeared on the scene that astute adventurer, but magnetic personality, Benito Mussolini. By appealing to the love of country innate in the Italians, he secured an immense and enthusiastic following, and Fascism was born.

It certainly worked miracles in restoring order. The trains, from being the most unpunctual, uncomfortable and dirty in Europe, became models of punctuality and cleanliness; beggars vanished from the streets; splendid roads were constructed throughout Italy; the 'tipping' curse was abolished and the ten-per-cent tax substituted and rigidly enforced; the Pontine Marshes were drained and flourishing towns sprung up on them, travelling clinics penetrated into the most remote villages, teaching the peasants hygiene and care of young children; physical training was made compulsory; the quarrel with the Papacy was compromised with and the art treasures of Italy entrusted to the care of experts.

So much for the credit side of Fascism.

These reforms, however, were purchased at a terrible price. Gradually all liberty, political, intellectual and civil, was suppressed. Opponents of the régime were either ruthlessly murdered, or tortured and exiled and their property confiscated, and Italy found itself at the mercy of an unscrupulous and treacherous megalomaniac and his satellites. It is a thousand pities that he was not assassinated before he embarked on his Abyssinian adventure.

Fascism owed its success to its appeal to the young. All Italians love swank and rhetoric and the youthful population thoroughly enjoyed marching about in uniform to the music of a brass band, yelling their ridiculous war song, *Giovanizza*, and screaming 'Duce! Duce!' when the pompous little 'pro-consul' reviewed them. And young and old swelled with pride at the thought that at last Italy counted for something in the comity of nations.

Fascism, however, never really suited the indolent Italian nature. *It was inflicted on them*

Annual festival to pray for a great draught of fishes. A girl carries this ship, weighing half a hundredweight, for eight miles

Don Quixote and Sancho Panza ride again at the carnival at Viareggio

by force rather than acquired. It grew up overnight and the soil in which it was planted was shallow. It has had time to take deep root in the national character. Long before the present war its popularity was waning. Responsible men—in the country especially—were asking where it was going to lead them. 'One glorious Army, Navy, Air Force' were all very well; so were the innumerable public undertakings. But glory is expensive. Italy has always been a poor country and people were being taxed to death to pay for all these grandiose schemes. I spent two months in the summer of 1938 travelling round Northern Italy and Tuscany and everywhere I found poverty and also a certain feeling of tension in the atmosphere. I talked with all sorts and conditions of men. All seemed to think that a war was inevitable and nearly all hated the idea of fighting on the side of Germany. Shops—all but the *maisons de luxe* in Milan, Florence and Rome were full of cheap rubbish; and food, except in the most expensive restaurants and hotels, was bad and expensive. I found, too, that the old hatred of the *Sporco Tedesco* (dirty German) as he has always been known, was as virulent as ever and the Germans, who even then crowded the summer resorts, were intensely unpopular.

Now although Italians are hero-worshippers, their adulation does not survive failure. The object of their worship, be he painter, singer or *soi-disant* patriot, must continue to deliver the goods, or great and swift is his fall. I once saw an elderly, and at one time famous, tenor hissed off the stage in Milan.

There is in Siena Cathedral, a Byzantine Madonna of incredible age and ugliness—the *Madonna del Voto*. Until comparatively recent times, when things were going well for Siena—perhaps the citizens had triumphed in one of their constant clashes with the Florentines, or the vintage had been exceptionally good—she was carried in procession through the city to the accompaniment of music and dancing, and little children pelted her with flowers. When things were going badly, she was also given an outing, but this time instead of music there were curses; instead of flowers, rotten eggs and vegetables.

I am convinced that out of the depths a changed and chastened Italy will arise. An Italy only too anxious to live at peace with all the world, the Real Italy.

Roman cabman with 'aqua minerale'

AMERICA'S 'BEVERIDGE' PLAN

SIR RONALD DAVISON

Distinguished Civil Servant, author of *Social Security*, etc.

It is a wise saying that henceforth Britain and America must seek to keep in step in their internal as well as their external affairs. I believe that while this applies in a conspicuous degree to their labour relations, trades union development, etc., it also applies with scarcely less force to the respective social services of the two countries. It is the latter that are dealt with in this article.

Official documents recently received in this country show that a big step is now contemplated in approximating the social insurances and allied services of the United States to those which we already have in Britain, and which we now propose to expand on the broad lines of the Beveridge Plan. The fact is that the impact of the great Report in America last December was strong and effective. Not only the New Dealers, but most of the Republican journals, were full of praise for British social idealism, and for our courage in proclaiming it now in the dark days of war as a brighter hope for our warriors and war workers.

But what of their own social services? The U.S.A. had created a new set-up since 1933, but it wasn't working very well. Naturally, there was a sharp spell of soul-searching, both officially and among the host of America's social workers. All this has now had issue in a set of proposals—a sort of American Beveridge Report—from the Social Security Board in Washington. The Board clearly had the backing of President Roosevelt, who sent to Congress in March this year a still more comprehensive report of the National Resources Planning Board on 'Security, Work and Relief Policies'. The proposals of the Social Security Board are not so wide in scope, but within their own field they are more definite than those of the Planning Board.

Let it be clear that the reforms suggested are not yet enacted, and that they will only reach the Statute Book after some stiff fighting in Congress. For the legislation proposed will be strong meat for many politicians, and many powerful states. State rights are, as usual, the obstacle; and these are at last to be drastically set aside in favour of federal action: this in the field of social services where the sacred right of each state to legislate for itself and go its own way has never till recently been called in question!

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT SERVICES

A little history is indispensable to the proper valuation of the difficulties confronting the Social Security Board as the federal unit of government responsible for these reforms. Prior to 1933, there were practically no statutory social services except the basic relief of destitution under the local 'Poor Laws'. Then, in the forward rush of the New Deal, came an Employment Exchange service and Unemployment Insurance, aided by the Federal Government, but run by the separate states. Each state legislature passed its own laws. Imagine the feelings of an Englishman, trained in British methods, when he discovered, as I did in 1935 and 1938, that 51 separate and widely divergent unemployment insurance schemes were being set up for the vast mobile national labour force of America! It seemed to promise badly. Only the employers contribute, and the workers earn wage credits which govern the size and duration of their benefits variously in each state. An insured worker earning £5 in his weekly pay packet would draw unemployment benefit varying from £2 to £3 10s. up to fixed totals varying from £20 to £80 (all depending on the state in which he earned his wage credits). He could only claim in his own state. In 1940 most of the beneficiaries exhausted their rights before they got back to a job. In many states, workers in firms with 8 or less employees were excluded from insurance; certain trades and industries were also exempt. Only the District of Columbia gave dependants' allowances to the insured unemployed.

So far as the employment service is concerned, the Federal Government has already linked up the various state bureaux into a workable national instrument for handling wartime labour. What the Social Security Board demand is that both the bureaux and the 51 unemployment schemes shall in future be completely nationalised as a federal service. That will bring them into line with us in Britain; and will

doubtless strengthen the finances, so that better average benefits can be paid. The Board promise that an increase of benefits for dependants will be uniformly adopted. There is no talk at present of making the wage and salary earners contribute for their unemployment insurance.

SICKNESS INSURANCE

But what of sickness, which is an even greater cause of interrupted income than unemployment? The U.S.A. have never yet had Health Insurance, either state or federal; but the Board now ask for a federal scheme. They estimate that on any one day there are 3 to 4 million persons incapacitated for their work by short illnesses. They propose to give cash benefits up to six months duration, and thus strike at a most serious cause of poverty and public dependency. The report hints that the benefits, plus the family's own resources, will be sufficient to cover ordinary medical expenses as well as the costs of maintaining the home. No free medical service or insurance doctors are suggested. 'The serious aspect of medical costs lies, not in the average among the population, but in the heavy burdens on families in which there is major or prolonged illness during a year.' Social insurance is therefore to be offered against the risk of hospital charges and high-cost illnesses only. The report of the Planning Board seemed to go rather further, in that it urged 'public provision to meet the needs of our people for more adequate medical care', and particularly 'for the millions whose need cannot be fully met from their own resources.' But there are no signs of this yet.

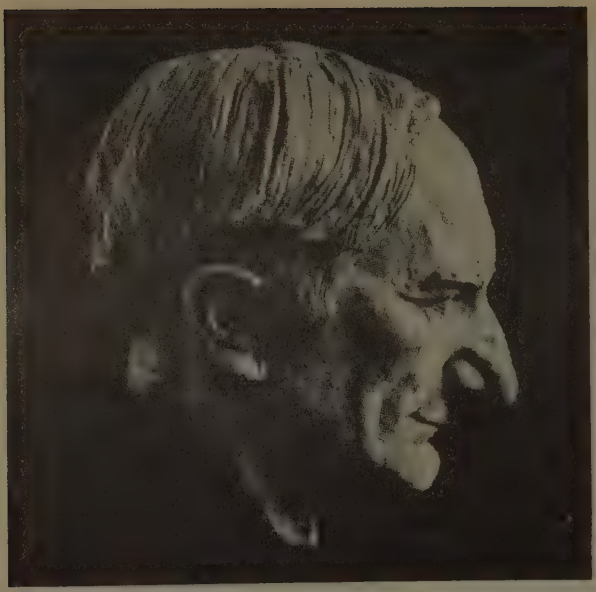
PENSIONS

Since 1935, America has had a system of social insurance for old age pensions and widows and orphans; and it is the only federal system. The contributions are small, being 1 per cent of wages for worker and employer within a limited class of employment. The pensions are also rather small, in spite of a federal subsidy. At the end of 1942 there were only 700,000 beneficiaries receiving pensions, as compared with some 3,000,000 drawing pensions as of right in Britain. There are, however, 2¼ million old persons receiving Needs Pensions through the States' relief services on a means test. The Social Security Board are satisfied with the principles and methods of their pensions insurance scheme. Their concern is to extend its coverage to agriculture, domestic service, public employees, non-profit institutions, and persons working *on their own account*. The last-mentioned addition is significant, but stops short of bringing in employers as such, or persons not gainfully occupied *à la* Beveridge. Even so, it should cover over 50,000,000 people. It is interesting to note that the pension age for wives is to be reduced, as in Britain, from 65 to 60. Persons who are permanently disabled at younger ages are also to be brought into this pensions scheme, instead of being left on long-period disablement benefit, as under our National Health Insurance system. We may have something to learn from the U.S.A. in this feature.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES

When we come to relief outside insurance, i.e. to public assistance in all its forms, the Board's proposals stop short of nationalisation. The services will still be run by the states. But the federal grants are to be larger and based, not as hitherto on the 'matching' principle, i.e. grading the grants according to expenditure, but on the varying needs and fiscal capacities of the states. The main task here is to bring up the backward southern states to the levels of the north. Children's allowances for all as of right are not proposed. There will still have to be proof of need; the U.S.A. is not so scared of

BARBARA WOOTTON, *one of the ablest economists, male or female. Chairman of the Social Security League, founded to put the Beveridge Plan on the Statute Book*



Bust of
SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE,
by Benno Elkan, anti-Nazi German, who has designed two biblical candelabra of eighty figures for Westminster Abbey

the Means Test as we are. But the case for helping the young family is admitted in these striking words: '*The majority of the children of the United States are growing up in homes where resources are too small to supply the shelter, food, clothing and other essentials needed for a child's healthful growth and development.*' The Board accordingly propose to give generous grants, with no maximum limits, to those states which really set about the task of assisting the hard-pressed families with young children under 16. This will be a big undertaking; and may well be a step towards the more definite articulation of a system of child-aid on federal standards and federal money, i.e. a national system.

THE CONTRIBUTORY SYSTEM

As a pendant to the above outline of America's 'Beveridge' Plan, I should mention one important difference between the British and American way of looking at social insurance. Americans have no use for our habit of imposing flat rate contributions on the workers in respect of their insurance for sickness, unemployment and pensions. There has been sharp condemnation by leading people and experts of Beveridge's proposal to put the same weekly contribution of 4s. 3d. on the young man earning 45s. a week as on the high-paid worker earning £6 a week. They are not convinced by Beveridge's argument that 'payment of a substantial part of the cost of benefit as a contribution irrespective of the means of the contributor is the firm basis of a claim to benefit irrespective of means.' This is their reply:[1] '*We* also object to the means test which goes with some of our social security payments, but the means test can be abolished without making the workers contribute.' They think that social insurance benefits should be claimed as of right in the same way as free education, or our proposed children's allowances. They want both sickness and unemployment insurance to be non-contributory on the part of the insured persons. Even the 1 per cent deduction from wages for old age pensions insurance is disapproved by social students in America; but at least that contribution is not at a flat rate. Are the Americans so very wrong? Already there are many in this country who are coming to agree with these ideas, and to favour a policy of putting the whole, instead of 50 per cent only, of the cost of our social insurance upon the citizens as taxpayers, each paying according to his capacity. We shall not convert the Americans in this matter; it is quite possible that they will convert us.

[1] *Social Service Review*, Chicago University.

A KEY TO THE INDIAN DEADLOCK!

O. S. EDWARDES

THERE is a key to the Indian deadlock. It is not alien intervention, British or neutral. That would be incongruous with India's self-determination. The clue is the why and how and fact of six years' progress in autonomy by a key province of India, and the example of India's own most helpful statesman. The province is the Punjab: the man was Sikander Hyat-Khan, its Moslem Premier until he died last Christmas.

We ought to remember, and therefore usually forget, that India today is divided constitutionally into three parts—cutting across all her other divisions—with three quite different systems of government. They are:

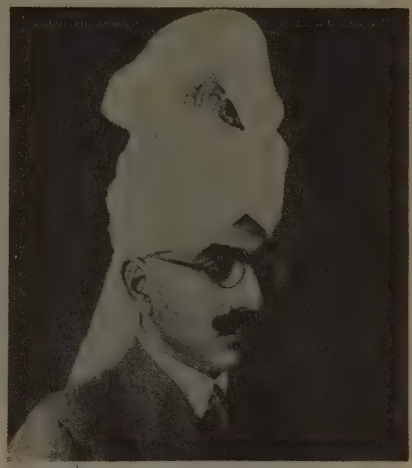
(*a*) The Indian States, five hundred or more of them, subject in greater or less degree to the domestic sovereignty and mediæval despotism of their hereditary Maharajas, Rajas, Nawabs, etc. Total population—93,200,000.

(*b*) Those five provinces where British Governors, subject to the British Parliament, have ruled since a short-lived autonomy collapsed when their Congress Party Ministers resigned in 1939. Madras, Bombay, Bihar, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. Total population—180,600,000.

(*c*) The six other provinces where responsible Indian Ministers and parliaments exercise provincial autonomy under the Constitution Act of 1935. The Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Total population—115,200,000.

About most of the Indian States, the less said the better. From the five provinces (*b*) we have heard a great deal, and it has not been pleasant, so it passes in England and America for a picture of *all* India. Few people here have had any chance to learn anything that matters about the six provinces (*c*). Few have any idea that in these provinces over 115,000,000 people—a much bigger total than the population of any independent country except China, Russia and the U.S.A.—are governing themselves in most of those matters that intimately affect the normal daily life of the common man. I was going to say their progress is the germ of all India's future freedom; but of course it is more than that.

The Punjab is only one of these six provinces,

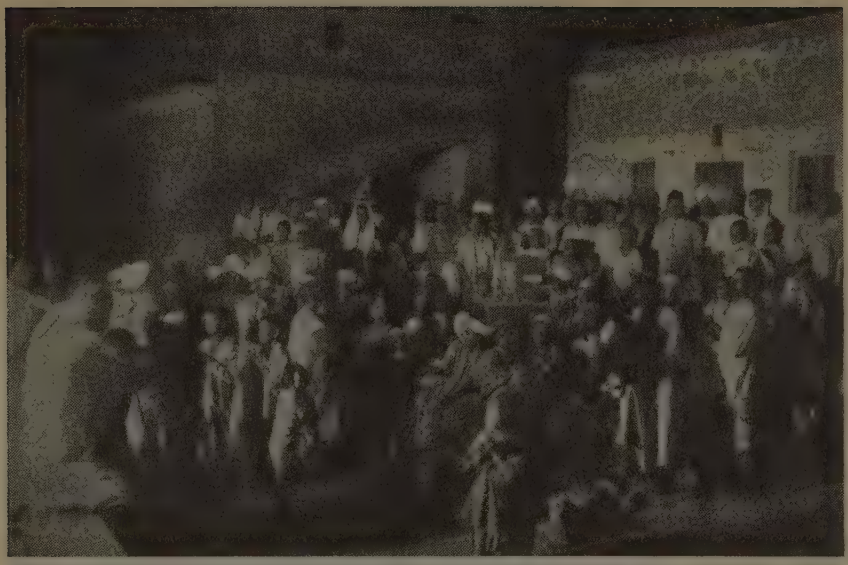


THE LATE SIR SIKANDER HYAT-KHAN,
first Premier of self-governing Punjab, and twice previously its acting Governor. He showed the way

and not the biggest of them. But in a *World Review*, not a mere India Review, it would be wrong in wartime to take up space with the oft-repeated story about some others of the six. I have selected the Punjab for special mention, partly because it produced an outstanding personality at the birth of its autonomy, and also to provoke the question why other men and provinces in India cannot now do what the Punjab and Sikander Hyat-Khan did in difficulties that were exceptional even by Indian standards.

Sikander was denied the limelight by his success in handling the very (Indian) problem we are so fond of talking about. We say we look forward to Indian self-government. A few wishfully deny the hope, because of India's communal dissensions. Some say the Viceroy or the British Government should again take the initiative to end these quarrels. Others say that though the Indian communities will not unite to get freedom, they will be brought together irresistibly when India has it, so we ought to make her free at once.

Nobody seems to have noticed how Sikander



Villagers in the Punjab were the first to be provided by All-India Radio with communal receiving sets

Hyat-Khan proved that none of these arguments was the whole truth, and that something better than argument was possible. He did it in the one and only province where communalism had aggravated itself seriously into a triangular problem. For besides having rather more than 16,000,000 Moslems and 7,000,000 Hindus, the Punjab is the national home of nearly 4,000,000 Sikhs. And all three of these Punjab communities have robust, martial traditions—highly explosive elements, if they are not controlled or self-controlled.

They were badly at loggerheads in 1936, when Sikander resigned the pleasant, lucrative but responsible dignity of Deputy-Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, to become leader of the Punjab Unionist or Country Party. It was called 'Unionist' because it was wide open to all communities. It continues to be the only recognisable party in India that has Hindu, Moslem, Indian-Christian, Eurasian and European (British) members. I am not sure whether it had Sikh members, but it has Sikh associates now. It was founded to work the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. When Sikander led it in the elections of 1937, it won 100 or 101 of the 175 seats in the enlarged, wholly elective legislature that was to work provincial autonomy.

Sikander thereupon avoided the very mistake the Congress was going to make, in seven other provinces, when it agreed to take office six months later. In the eleven provincial Legislative Assemblies a total of 495 seats was reserved for Moslems: the Congress had won 26 of them. There were 20 Indian-Christian seats: the Congress had won four of these. Yet it was going to insist that all Ministers, in the seven provinces where the Congress was returned with a majority, must be members of the Congress Party, even if that meant they would be men of straw. The result was unfortunate. Sikander, on the other hand, waived his right to choose all his Ministers from his own party. The result was most satisfactory.

The Punjab Unionists were preponderantly Moslem: a good deal more so than the Punjab itself. They had won only ten, for instance, of the fifty seats reserved in the Legislature for Hindus. Sikander decided he must pick men outside his party to complete in his Ministry the genuine representation of Hindus and Sikhs. He gave the key portfolio of Finance to Lala Manohar Lal, of the Hindu National Progressive Party that had been formed to oppose the Unionists with a policy more congenial to Punjabis than the Congress. The Ministry of Revenue went to Sunder Singh Majithia, leader of the Sikh Khalsa

National Party. A post was found for Ujjal Singh, who had been accused of nearly wrecking the Round Table Conference in London by his hostility to Moslem claims. A Moslem Unionist, Begum Shah Nawaz, became the first woman Minister in all India as Parliamentary Secretary to a Hindu's Finance Ministry. And about a year ago, Sikander did better still: he won the co-operation of the Akali Sikhs, who for 20 years had been the most 'difficult', and often the most violent, of all sectarians.

As the Moslem leader of a triumphant Moslem majority, he must have known the personal and political risks of inviting champions of the Sikhs to join his Government, so soon after a spasm of communal tension. But in the Legislature he very early defined his attitude in terms that would have saved Congress-Hindu Ministers a deal of trouble if they had imitated him elsewhere. He said:—

'The Moslems of the Punjab owe a special responsibility, not only to the minorities in the Punjab, but also to their co-religionists who constitute the minorities in other provinces. No far-sighted or patriotic Moslem can permit his community in the Punjab to take any unreasonable step against the minorities which, if similarly applied by non-Moslem majorities against the minorities in other provinces, would jeopardise the fundamental rights and position of the Moslems there.'

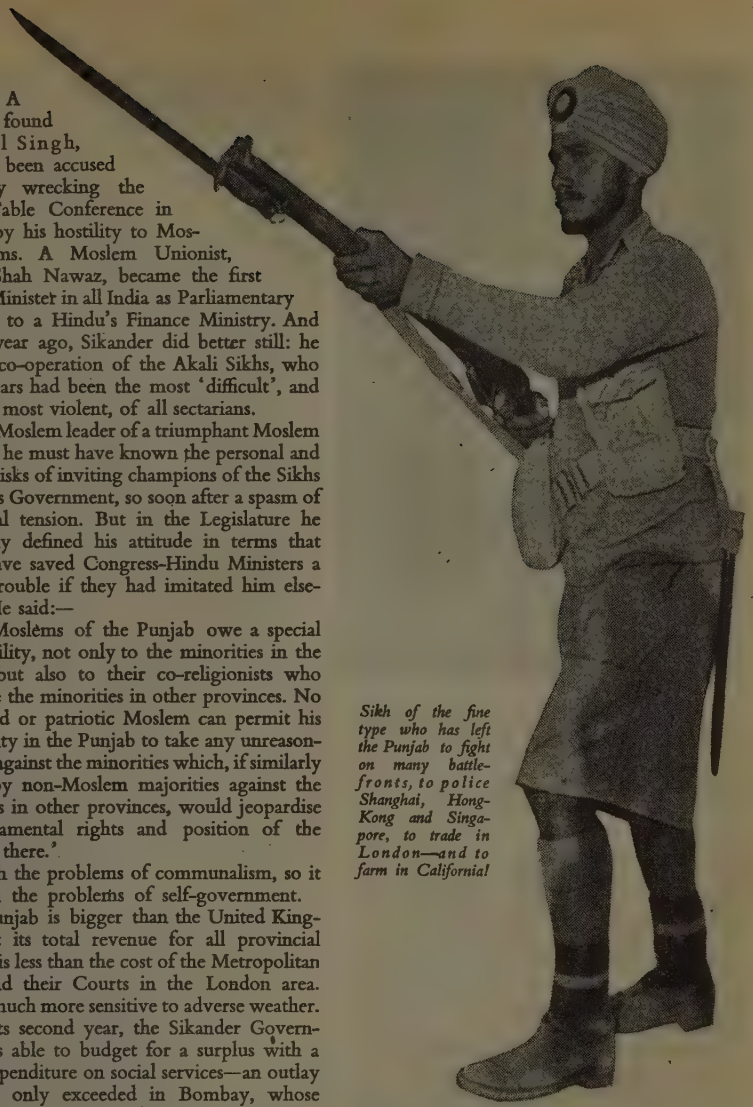
As with the problems of communalism, so it was with the problems of self-government.

The Punjab is bigger than the United Kingdom, but its total revenue for all provincial purposes is less than the cost of the Metropolitan Police and their Courts in the London area. It is also much more sensitive to adverse weather. Yet, in its second year, the Sikander Government was able to budget for a surplus with a record expenditure on social services—an outlay per head only exceeded in Bombay, whose resources are greater, and population smaller.

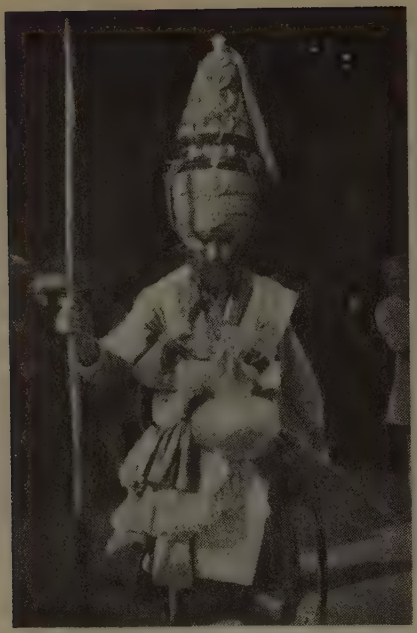
You have probably heard much about the crushing debts of the Indian peasant; but nothing like so much about the Punjab legislation to help him, and curb the usurer.

You will have heard of endless working-hours, on miserable pay, in the shops and *bazars* of Indian towns; but not of the Punjab Government's Act to regulate hours and wages, and to provide for an annual fortnight's holiday with full pay.

It has extended compulsory primary education. It has a Six-Year Plan of rural development. Everybody has heard about Gandhi's interest in village and cottage industries; but very possibly



Sikh of the fine type who has left the Punjab to fight on many battle-fronts, to police Shanghai, Hong-Kong and Singapore, to trade in London—and to farm in California!



Sikh of the small and dwindling sect of Kuka or Nihang fanatics. The 'horseshoes' in front of the turban are symbolical quoits, which all Sikhs should carry

nothing about the help initiated by the Punjab Government with its 'peripatetic demonstration parties'.

We have certainly heard more than enough about 'India's (*sic*) opposition to the war'. But I meet very few people who remember that the Punjab Legislature, normally representing more than half of the Indians who stand to be killed in action, committed itself whole-heartedly to the war by 104 votes to 39. (Bengal, with more than twice as many people, did the same by a majority nearly as big.)

So Sikander Hyat-Khan died; and very few people here took much notice either of his personal charm, or of the great work his Government and province had done under his leadership; or of their continuing answer to questions that worry us into futile controversy. I know there is a difference between state and continental politics—or provincial and national, if you prefer the words. A province little larger in area than Great Britain is a more comprehensible unit than a vast geographical expression like India, and Punjabis are very conscious of the Punjab. Also, the Unionists had the *alias* Country Party because they championed the great peasant majority against the predatory urban capitalist; and all the rival religious communities in the Punjab have a fellowship of interest in the soil. Contrariwise, in the competition for the prize plums of power in a Central or Federal Government of a united All-India, you have racial types more diverse than Europe's, and the rivalry of many political, economic and social interests. But the greatest immediate difficulty is the rivalry between Hindu and Moslem. The Punjab has shown how it could be alleviated, even when it was complicated by the claims of a third and essentially martial community against each of the other two in turn. You may think that in ambition for undiluted freedom—either provincial or, better still, pan-Indian—the Hindus and Moslems of other provinces should find a common bond of interest at least as helpful as the Punjabis' fellowship of interest in the soil.

Sikander Hyat-Khan showed the way. It is not too late to sit up and take notice of his example. It is the least that Indians and British can do for their joint or separate futures.

Punjab Mohammedan officer

PARADOXICAL IRELAND

JOAN HASLIP

Author of *Parnell*, etc.

TODAY St. George's Channel seems wider and more bottomless than the Atlantic, and Eire, veiled in the mists of her neutrality, ever more paradoxical, more devious to understand! The very term 'neutrality' is in itself a paradox. Non-participation would be a clearer definition of Eire's attitude towards a world at war. But the word 'neutrality' is rigorously adhered to, fostered by a carefully-censored press which, more than anything else, is responsible for surrounding the island in her impenetrable mists.

Behind the barrier of those mists, Eire has recently staged a General Election, of which the results were more paradoxical than those of any election staged since the days when civil war rent the country in two.

I arrived in Dublin on the very day Mr. De Valera entered his eleventh term of office, and for the second time in his career confronted Dail Eireann with a minority. But with only 66 seats to his credit and 71 against him, Mr. De Valera had never in all his years of power been able to say *L'Etat c'est moi*. The Fianna Fail Government may have lost ten seats at the election; but Cosgrave's Fine Gael, the only organised Opposition party, had suffered far more disastrously. And here again was paradox: that through some strange misapprehension Cosgrave, that mild God-fearing man whom Dubliners once affectionately nicknamed 'Willy-near-to-God', is now regarded by many as a dangerous warmonger! No rumour could be more unfounded; for Mr. Cosgrave, in common with the vast majority of his countrymen, is just as staunch an upholder of Eire's neutrality as is Mr. De Valera.

Nevertheless, the rumour has gained credence, and was largely responsible for Mr. Cosgrave's defeat.

With Fine Gael beaten at the hustings, who in that wilderness of Labour candidates, farmers and Independents, would dare to challenge De Valera, and in challenging De Valera, challenge the man who in the past three years has skilfully navigated Eire through the pitfalls which beset her neutrality, and who represents the one stable Government of Eire? No one is

MISS JOAN HASLIP

in that position, certainly not James Dillon, a brave but lonely Voice in the Wilderness, who, with his forensic brilliance, brings to the Dail an oratory worthy of the days when Parnell and his father set the galleries of Westminster by the ears. And certainly not any of those worthy farmers, who are still too impressed by inscribing T.D. (M.P.) after their names and too dazzled by a salary of £480 per annum, to venture to stir up a hornet's nest, in the shape of another General Election, which might lose them the right of entry to the hallowed precincts of Leinster House! For, greatest paradox of all, though it is the farmers who wrested the majority from Fianna Fail at the elections, it is they who abstained from voting on the day De Valera challenged the Dail with a minority. James Dillon, upbraiding them with his splendid invective, cried, 'There you sit, a potential volcano not giving out so much as a splutter before you become extinct.' But no one knew better than De Valera just how extinct that volcano was.

The country may not have given Mr. De Valera a majority; but in the Dail he stands a giant among his fellows. As if 71 men, of the

JAMES DILLON

most devious political complexions, and those 71 men Irishmen, would ever combine against a man who is one of the most consummate politicians in Europe!

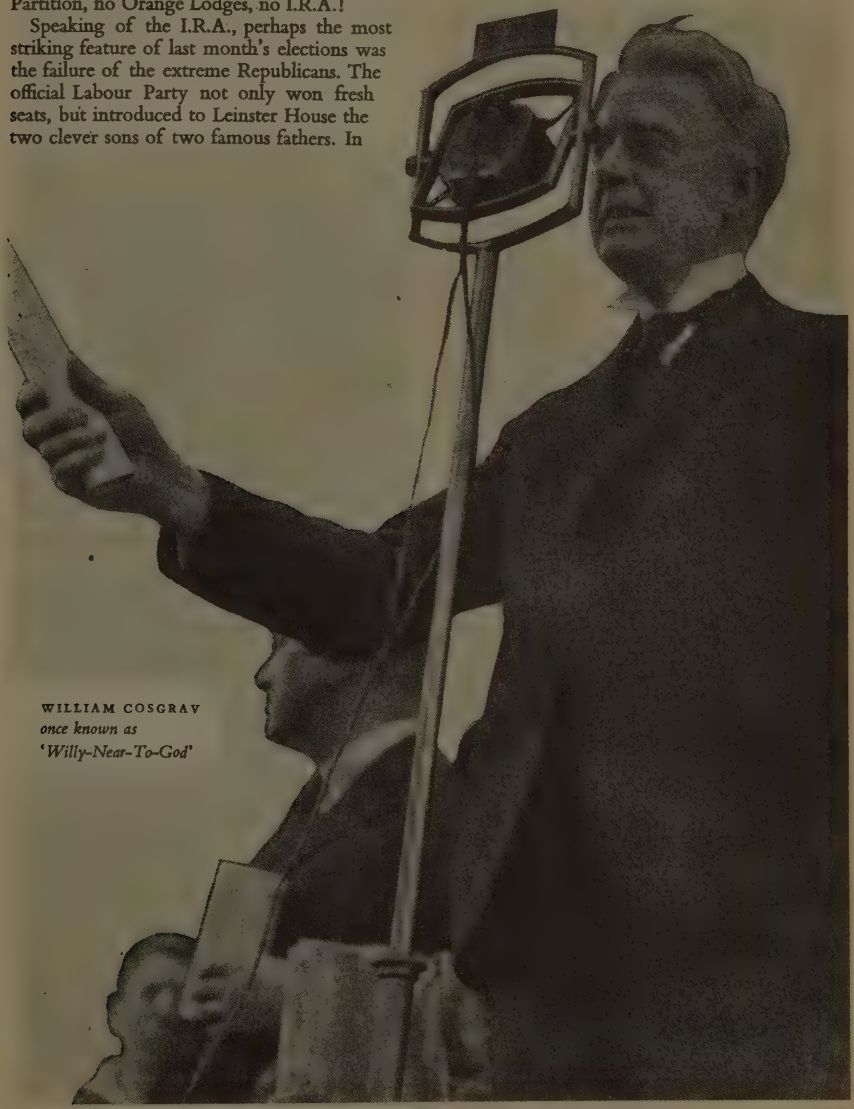
In his electioneering campaign, De Valera gave neither promises nor assurances as to the future. For once, relations with England were not a cardinal issue. He had kept his country out of the war, and certain hardships and shortages were a small price to be paid for Eire's hazardous neutrality. There is no doubt that if in some way the full horrors of war had been brought home to the Irish people during the week of the elections; if, for instance, the Germans had raided Belfast, then Fianna Fail would have swept the country. But those farmers of the west, to whom the war, as seen through the eyes of a censored press, seems very remote and far away, and in some ways little more than an excuse for the various government blunders, were ready to vote for anyone who could promise them some kind of agricultural reform.

This paradoxical election, which, rare in the annals of Irish history, was fought on purely domestic issues, saw an Irish Communist, a practised Hyde Park speaker, who had spent most of his life in Yorkshire, come down to the west of Ireland and canvass the villages of Mayo, preaching a mixture of Communism and the Bible. As a result of the election he was returned a member of the Farmers' Party, in a county which was once the cradle of the Land League, and the home of Michael Davitt. Strange scenes took place during the elections. In a certain county town, Fine Gael and Fianna Fail forgot for a few hours the bitterness of party politics, and a friendly debate was staged between the rival candidates. Speaking from the same soapbox, they threshed out all the major issues at stake, till at the end of several hours the shopkeeper to whom the box belonged pulled it back into his shop saying, 'That is enough of that.'

Political divergences, as divorced from personal relationships, are nowhere better illustrated than they were this month in the streets of Dublin, when hordes of holiday-makers from Belfast invaded neutral Eire, to celebrate 'The Glorious Twelfth'. It is slightly ironical that the people of Belfast should choose their national holiday, which has always been regarded as one of the most tragic pages in the history of Catholic Ireland, as a suitable occasion for coming to Dublin and buying up all the stocks and provisions which they are able to smuggle back past a vigilant Customs.

Nevertheless, these visitors are made welcome with that warm hospitality so characteristic of Dublin; and, witnessing the scenes of fraternisation in the hotels and pubs, one would have believed that there was no burning issue of Partition, no Orange Lodges, no I.R.A.!

Speaking of the I.R.A., perhaps the most striking feature of last month's elections was the failure of the extreme Republicans. The official Labour Party not only won fresh seats, but introduced to Leinster House the two clever sons of two famous fathers. In the coming years, young Connolly, son of the Labour Leader who lost his life in the 1916 rebellion, and Jim Larkin Junior, son of the veteran Labour leader, may make their names in Irish politics.



WILLIAM COSGRAV
once known as
'Willy-Near-To-God'

But the leaders of I.R.A. are now discredited and the hunger-strikers of the Curragh internment camp are shorn of their last trappings of glamour and romanticism.

The Fenians of John O'Leary's day, who suffered penal servitude for the sake of an ideal, would have little in common with the mob of lawless hooligans who, now that funds are no longer forthcoming from across the Atlantic, resort to armed hold-ups and open acts of terrorism.

When I first visited Eire, not ten years ago, the slogans of the I.R.A. were plastered all over the country. From the walls of Kilmainham gaol to the police barracks of Tralee, everywhere one found chalked 'Resurrect the Easter Lily', and 'Up the I.R.A.'! I remember how, in the streets of Dublin, one of the leaders of the I.R.A. was pointed out to me, rather in the same way as one points out to a small child the actor who is impersonating Captain Hook. When Sean O'Casey's masterpiece on the 1916 rebellion was performed at the Abbey Theatre, the audience became hysterical with excitement. All that has changed. De Valera, whom many regard as a fanatic, but whose chief strength lies in his Latin sense of realism, has educated his people to adopt a realistic attitude to the issues at stake. Being a realist, there must be times when De Valera wonders if his term of power is drawing to a close, and if he alone will be exempt from the fate which overtakes most Irish leaders—either to suffer a violent death, or to die of a broken heart at the ingratitude of his people! Firmly he has set his face against a National Government; but if he searches among the ranks of Fianna Fail, whom does he see as a likely successor? Though many of his Ministers are able, there is not one of them but would feel the mantle of authority too heavy for his shoulders. Grimly and tenaciously De Valera clings to power, too tired to make any promises, too uncompromising to amalgamate; ever ready to threaten the Dail at the slightest sign of insubordination with the one thing which the country does not want at the present time—another General Election.

For those who cherish peace above ideals, he can point to the raid-scarred streets of Belfast, and say, 'This is what I've saved you from.' He can point to the well-stocked shops of Cork and Dublin, where British and American boots are to be found side by side with the produce from the Mediterranean, and say, 'Here are the fruits of neutrality.'

For those who choose to tilt their lance for an ideal, a trait inherent in the Irish character, he can say, 'What have I ever done to prevent a stream of volunteers from crossing St. George's Channel?' He could quote, only it is the last thing Mr. De Valera would quote, the high percentage of men from neutral Eire serving in His Majesty's Forces. He could dwell on the long roll of honour, the numberless decorations won by citizens of Eire on the battlefields of Africa and in the skies of Europe. He could mention the generosity of the Irish Red Cross, and the numberless gifts which it sends to hospitals throughout the British Isles. But Mr. De Valera, a realist and a consummate politician, remains silent, while Dublin dims its lights and asserts its neutrality.

When the German Minister drives down Fitzwilliam Square, he passes by the Polish Consulate, where the Polish flag flies at half-mast in mourning for Sikorski. The whole of diplomatic and official Dublin congregated at the Mass in memory of the Polish leader, in the same way as recently diplomatic and official Dublin congregated at a Mass for the soul of King Alfonso. When I asked an Irish friend of mine why he was going, he answered, 'Why shouldn't I? And, anyway, the souls of Spanish Kings need a lot of praying for!'

Dublin is calm. The quiet of her Georgian squares, where shortage of petrol makes a car a *rara avis*, is reflected in the minds of her people. Sometimes that calm tends towards apathy.

The fantastic spy rumours which floated round the capital during the first year of the war have died down. The stories of sensational activities by the Axis Legations, which were so avidly swallowed by American journalists, have evaporated; and those activities have now become dreary and insignificant. Abiding by instructions from their countries, the German and Italian Legations still produce elaborate propaganda bulletins which they circulate round the country. But nobody probably is more aware than they are how useless that propaganda is.

For, while the staffs of the German and Italian Legations attempt to impress Eire with their countries' moral and cultural superiority, every day a cargo load of Irish labour travels across St. George's Channel, to that other island where Irishmen working in British factories give the answer to those who challenge Eire's neutrality.

THE FALLACY OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

WANTED: A DECLARATION OF INTERDEPENDENCE

EMERY REVES

Author of *A Democratic Manifesto*, etc.

WHEN the Atlantic Charter was first proclaimed, the democratic world was thrilled to the marrow. That thrill derived more from the event itself than from the contents of the proclamation. After a series of Brenner Pass meetings between Hitler and Mussolini, each the prelude to further Axis triumphs, the highseas meeting between Roosevelt and Churchill was novel and dramatic; and it held the promise of triumphs for the enemies of the Axis.

But the time has arrived for sober consideration of the text of the Charter. Discussion of the subject, indeed, is growing. Some ask whether the Atlantic Charter applies only to the Western world, or to all mankind. Others object that the document is not clear and specific enough. But nearly all the divergent critics assume that the Charter as it stands is basically right, and points the way to a better future.

It is precisely that assumption which needs to be examined. Now that the United Nations have taken the offensive in a number of arenas of battle, and the shape of victory is beginning to emerge, such an examination becomes especially urgent. Does the Atlantic Charter—does the world-view implicit in that document—offer a new approach to the solution of international problems?

We all know by this time that our military victory in 1918 was meaningless because we were unable to implement it with a workable peace. Military victory in this war, too, will be meaningless if we do not begin immediately to clarify principles on which a workable world order can be built.

The underlying idea of the Atlantic Charter is expressed in its third paragraph: 'They (the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.'

This is the charter of the last war. This is a reiteration of the old doctrine of self-determination, upon which we built the world of 1919 which crumbled so miserably and so quickly.

The Atlantic Charter again proclaims the right of every nation to choose the form of government it desires—or the form imposed upon it by a ruthless minority. It bows abjectly before the fetish of 'national sovereignty' with all that it implies: unlimited terror and organisation for aggression within any nation so inclined; non-intervention in military epidemics until too late; blind isolationism and neutrality in a world made small by science and made interdependent by industry.

The Atlantic Charter, for all its fine intentions, is an anachronistic document. It promises to divide the world into more, and yet more, nations, each of them absolutely independent of the others, unlimited in its sovereign right to do mischief. It accepts the right of any country to be as undemocratic and totalitarian as it pleases, a law unto itself. It fails to recognise, and to implement, larger sovereignties that transcend national sovereignties, human rights that take precedence over national rights.

Self-determination is no guarantee of independence. The sad fate of the small nations set up at Versailles proves that. Even before their freedom was finally expunged by the rampant, self-determined nationalism of Nazi Germany, they could maintain the illusion of independence only by accepting the patronage and protection of one of the powerful nations. Independence in its absolute form produces only fear, mistrust, conflict, slavery—because it penalises pacific nations and gives the right of way to aggressors and trouble-makers among countries.

It is unfortunate that in dealing with social and

political problems we have not yet escaped the dialectic method of analysis, the method of the ancient Greeks that arbitrarily establishes exclusive opposite notions—good and bad, heat and cold, dark and light. Science, of course, has long ago discarded the procedure. It recognises that these 'opposites' are, in fact, the same phenomenon, differing in degree.

Of all the 'exclusive opposites' which dominate our political thinking, the most dangerously misleading are those that assume 'freedom' to be the opposite of 'compulsion', 'dependence' the opposite of 'independence'.

In our individual lives in an organised democratic society we are free men only because there are a great many things we are *forbidden* to do, and a great many things we are *compelled* to do We are forbidden to make a nuisance of ourselves, to break laws, to put pet ideas into practice if they hurt the community. We are compelled to observe hygienic regulations, to pay taxes, to do military service. If each of us were entirely free to do whatever he wanted, we would all live in a state of permanent terror. The individual freedom and security we cherish in a democracy are ours only because strict limitations on freedom of behaviour are prescribed and enforced by organised society.

In the history of human society we can see that all these limitations of individual freedom, all these compulsions, were first proclaimed in principle by the various religions at the dawn of history. But several thousand years of religious teaching and organised society have been unable to prevent individuals from committing acts we call crimes. The only thing we have been able to achieve was the promulgation of laws prohibiting the actions that in the interest of the community we do not want the individual to commit; the establishment of institutions legalising such compulsion, institutions which see they are justly applied to everyone; the provision of force to see that, once applied, they are executed. Individually we are free men, not so much because we are free to do certain things, but even more because we are under compulsion by law *not* to do anything that infringes on the freedom of others.

This seems to be obvious; and nobody questions the rightness of a state of affairs in which the acts of free men are limited by law, that alone secures for them the maximum degree of security and individual freedom.

The synthesis of freedom and compulsion, long recognised in the organisation of our social life, is still ignored in the field of international relations.

So far as nations are concerned, we still believe in freedom in its absolute form, and think that any limitation imposed on a nation freely to exercise its will, without taking into consideration the consequences on the other members of the international community, would be an infringement of the independence of that nation. This conception is utterly false; and our adherence to it is responsible for the chaos and misery at present prevailing.

We cannot possibly prevent new world conflicts until we temper independence with law; until we acknowledge that freedom—for nations as for individuals—implies legal brakes on their free will, the sacrifice of some national prerogatives as the price for safeguarding the rest.

1919, CLIMAX OF NATIONALISM

The ideal of national independence and national sovereignty was born as a wholesome reaction against absolute monarchy and colonial exploitation. At its inception it was a significant forward impulse in the story of human progress. The American Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution, following on the development of representative institutions in England, were tremendous incentives to other peoples to seek independence and sovereignty.

The climax of this process was reached in the peace treaties of 1919, when more nations than ever before became wholly independent and sovereign. Twenty years later all those proud sovereignties were trampled and bloody. Why? Because the political system established in 1919 was an apotheosis of eighteenth-century political ideals in total contradiction to the realities of the twentieth century.

Independence, sovereignty, nationality as the basis of states, were wonderful achievements at a time when the industrial revolution had not yet begun, when people lived largely under rural conditions, when communications were slow, and every large territory was more or less economically self-contained. Under those conditions national sovereignty was indeed a great democratic ideal.

What, exactly, did this ideal mean to the eighteenth-century philosophers and writers who championed it? It meant that sovereign rights were to be transferred from one man, from the sovereign, to all men, to the people. It was clearly stated that sovereignty rested in the community—*la souveraineté réside dans la communauté.*

'The Nation' was the widest horizon conceivable as a self-supporting unit. An advance of 'nationalism' at that stage meant, in the first place, the enlargement of the society, the merging of small groups into large ones.

That interpretation no longer applies today, when some hundred sovereign states exist in an industrialised and interdependent world; when it takes less time to travel from continent to continent than it did then to go from Liverpool to London, or from Boston to Philadelphia. Because the horizons of the community have been extended by the industrial revolution until they embrace the whole globe, sovereignty no longer resides in the community at all. It is exercised in unlimited and absolute style by segments of the community we call nations—a total contradiction to the original conception of democratic sovereignty.

In short, where the ideal of the nation in the eighteenth century meant a *broader* basis for sovereignty, today it means a *narrower* basis. The word is the same; the meaning has changed. If we want to lay the foundation for a new epoch of human progress, this conception of sovereignty must be revised. The idea of national independence must be interpreted in conformity with the living facts of this day, rather than inherited and outlived fetishes.

The writer is aware that such notions run against the grain of accustomed attitudes. To doubt the eternal verity of the eighteenth-century national ideal sounds 'unpatriotic'. Nationalism has become as deeply rooted as the tribal emotions of primitive times. Its defenders are intolerant guardians of a dogmatic religion. Nevertheless, the exalted cult of the nation is the greatest obstacle to life, liberty and happiness today. It must somehow be made clear to the mass of mankind that restrictions on national independence, the limitation of sovereignty by law, have become the sole guarantee of enduring peace. The new ideals—international law and supranational sovereignties—are fully consistent with local patriotism, pride in one's own country, ambition for one's own country, just as love for one's own family, pride in one's city, personal ambition are fully consistent with the limited law-bolstered freedom of the individual in a democratic society.

The crisis of the twentieth century came in 1914, and its end is still far off. It is the climatic conflict between nationalism and industrialism.

These two currents, which have dominated history since the beginning of the nineteenth century, are fundamentally opposed to one another. Nationalism is a process of differentiation. Industrialism is a process of integration. Industrialism, reaching out for raw stuffs in far parts of the globe, distributing its products throughout the world, dependent on freedom of exchange—seeks to break down the walls erected by nationalism. For about one hundred years it was possible for both processes to develop without catastrophic friction. But the limit of compromise and adjustment, the saturation point, was reached at the beginning of the present century. The explosion came in 1914, and is continuing in 1943: unless resolved by a bold renunciation of national sovereignty in its extreme forms, further explosions must come at ever shorter intervals.

By this time the clash of nationalism and industrialism is so titanic that it must end either in the victory of nationalism or its dethronement. If the nationalist ideal wins out (and this may happen despite the defeat of the Axis), it will put brakes on industrial development, push back the human race to a lower standard of living and to primitive existence under autocratic régimes, casting the attainments of human progress as sacrifices on the altar of the modern goddess: the nation. The dethronement of the goddess can be accomplished only by setting up a world-wide political society within which nations, large and small, would for the first time in our epoch have the possibility of enjoying true independence: the kind of freedom buttressed by law, autonomy in local matters, collaboration in larger affairs, the observance of elementary 'political hygiene' at home to prevent the epidemics of war. Once the issue is clearly recognised, there can be no hesitation on the part of the democracies.

The meaning of the crisis of the twentieth century is that our shrinking planet must to some reasonable degree be brought under unified control. Our task, our duty, in this crucial period of transition is to institute the unified control in a democratic fashion. First of all we must proclaim the principles. We must re-educate the peoples of the planet, in order to loosen the hold of outlived ideals. To attempt to organise the world again on the pattern of 1919 does not make sense. It would turn our present sacrifices into a mockery, and make the next war inevitable.

Many people, aware of the weakness of the 1919 system, and the futility of a league of nations without force, are now fostering the idea of an international police force. That idea,

in fact, is also implicit in the Atlantic Charter. That is just another illusion. An international police force is inevitable and unavoidable. But alone it is inadequate, and will not solve the problem. A police force can be effective and useful only if it carries out the decisions of courts of law. Police without law lacks moral justification, and in the long run cannot function so that the peoples against whom it acts will accept its authority without revolt.

The cardinal point in any organisation on a world-wide democratic basis must be the introduction of the principle of *law*. That is the only foundation for social life in a modern state—the foundation must be extended to the relationship between nations. We cannot rely on men's promises not to murder, on their pledges not to cheat. Neither can we regulate international relationships by mutual pledges, promises and treaty agreements.

Brute force will always be pitted against law until we accept compulsions, limitations on actions, and an organised power with the legal use of force. The old system crumbled because a 'peaceful collaboration of sovereign nations on the basis of mutual goodwill' is an impossibility. The independence of a country, as of an individual, does not rest solely on the freedom of its own actions but on the degree to which the freedom of action of other nations may infringe on its own independence. The essence of freedom for nations therefore comes down to regulations of their *interdependence*.

Peace is not a period when it happens that nobody is shooting. Peace is order based on law. The operation of force, provided it is based on law and equality of peoples under such law, is just as indispensable to the conception of international peace as prisons and executions are indispensable to social order.

The need now is for a *Declaration of Interdependence*, a Charter of twentieth-century principles, upon which a lasting world peace can in time be erected. It will be to the United Nations of the future what the Declaration of Independence was in 1776 to the colonies which later formed the United States. The conception must precede the birth. We must make the beginning now by proclaiming the principles of interdependence. The Declaration of 1776 did not create the United States of America. Independence had to be fought for on the battlefield; and after that it took thirteen years of painful gestation before the new nation was born in the Constitution. To create the truly Interdependent United Nations will take an even longer period. Now is the time to begin.

The tragic fact, however, is that we are not heading or thinking in that direction. The pronouncements of individual leaders of the United Nations, with few exceptions, presuppose a return to the old pattern of absolute national sovereignties. The Atlantic Charter—the only document stating our aims in this struggle—accepts unquestioningly the anachronistic ideals of nationalism. It does not point the way to integration, to a closer unification of nations, to a system that would embrace all nations in ever larger and larger units. On the contrary, it again asserts that each nationality has the right to its own sovereign state, and to its own form of government, no matter how anti-democratic. It again gives some nation in another decade the right to set up another Hitler régime if it so wishes, because—let this be quite clear—there can be no intervention until too late, even if we possess an international police force, so long as we base our international life on the notion of full national sovereignty.

The point is not that the Atlantic Charter lacks clarity—it is all too clear—but that its principles are basically false, and will lead us away from the goal we seek. It is a recapitulation of the Utopian Wilsonian ideas, which we have seen in operation between the two world wars. It is folly to imagine that they will operate otherwise after the present war, because they remain at variance with the realities of the industrial epoch in which we live.

The Atlantic Charter must be seriously reconsidered. Its two authors, in particular, must ponder the perpetuation of nationalism, implicit and explicit, in that document. To endure, the new democratic world order must be built upon a rock and not upon sand. We need to lay the foundations now of a democratic world order that will make intervention a duty, whenever and wherever the laws of the established order are violated. We need a new interpretation of 'the nation' and of 'sovereignty'—one that gives all nationalities total autonomy and full sovereign rights in their own cultural, national and local problems, but not beyond that. Only a division of sovereignties—reserving national sovereignty for national matters, and international sovereignty for international matters—can give us the framework of a world constitution which will express again the democratic thought that 'sovereignty resides in the community.'

TROUBLE IN TRINIDAD

I. C. THIMANN

THE casual visitor to the purely agricultural islands of the Windward Group, such as St. Vincent and Grenada, might claim to be impressed by what he saw. He would need, however, to be unaware of miserable shacks, stuffed and patched against tropical rains with metal plates and newspaper, of children's bellies distorted with hookworm, and of the partial serfdom of their parents; but the myopia of tourists is proverbial. In Trinidad, however, no degree of shortsightedness would avail him.

For Trinidad, whose rich oilfields, nascent industries, and urban slums supply fresh problems over and above the inevitable agrarian chaos, has an obvious priority in the matter of post-war colonial reforms. Even if the sullen negroes would wait, there is the added complication of indifferent East Indians, Chinese and Syrians; of the Catholic Venezuelans, Portuguese and French, who remain a world apart, and owe no saving loyalty to King and Empire. These groups are joined in their expectation of better living conditions, but by no other tie. There is no unity whatever on which to base a programme of reform.

It follows that the prevailing discontent is in no way organised. Where the bulk of the population is lazy, scattered and backward, such unrest as may occur is rarely fomented, or maintained by groups and societies, but comes to a head at critical moments at the bidding of demagogues, such as Butler of Trinidad, or Bustamente of Jamaica. Since the arrest of the former, in 1937, no successor has appeared. However, as Trinidad has the least unsatisfactory educational facilities of any of the islands and, by reason of its position, is the most cosmopolitan and worldly, it is growing more vigorously and painfully than the rest. There are many of all classes and creeds who read, think and observe—notably teachers, lawyers, and civil servants. From their ranks there is certain one day to emerge a leader.

Permanent grievances, such as low wages and lack of opportunity, have been aggravated by a lamentable wartime policy. First and foremost, in the urgent days of 1940, the Americans were allowed to offer fantastic prices for unskilled

Woman Estate Labourer

labour, with the result that sugar, citrus and cocoa estates were denuded of hands. Not only the peons were swept into this vast new enterprise, but also an eager penurious crowd of black-coats (even nurses from the Colonial Hospital!), so that one heard of elementary teachers doubling their pittance as clerks or skittle-alley attendants with the Walsh-Driscoll and James Stewart construction companies. Now, having tasted the dollar, these people, with the virtual completion of the American bases, are more than ever discontented with wages entirely dwarfed by the cost of living, which is now almost double that of 1935.

Attempts have been made to rectify the situation by increases of salaries and by price control. Government employees have naturally suffered more than labourers by higher housing and clothing costs; but measures for their relief have been so ludicrous as to suggest two possibilities. One is that the executive is completely cynical in its attitude to the negro and the creole! How else could it vote itself handsome increments, while merely awarding the qualified Elementary

Contrast between Government House Trinidad and an estate shack

teacher a war bonus of five dollars on his pitiful starting maximum of 44 dollars per month?[1] The other is that it is completely out of touch with reality. Since the whites are still carefully segregated from coloured people, the entry of the latter into their homes remaining resolutely taboo, this seems a likelier explanation. No shortage of funds can be urged—wartime revenue, including huge customs returns, comfortably exceeding a limited expenditure.

Government employees, fast becoming paupers in a period of relative prosperity, are naturally cynical at this enrichment of their seniors, and notably at the thousands spent by the Stockdale Commission, pleasantly housed on Barbados, in discovering 'ways of improving conditions in the Caribbean.' Such cynicism is not always offset by the grim humour revealed in a civil servant's recent letter to the *Trinidad Guardian*:

'The publicity given some time ago to our lamentations has done us a small amount of good.

'I have noticed for some time past that on Sundays in Church, when the plate is being circulated, the collector (who knows me) studiously avoids passing it to me, and with a kind of "I-understand-the-position" smile, moves on to the others. The other night, too,

[1] When a deputation of teachers recently complained that their number could not afford proper clothes, it was informed that, for the duration, the government would graciously excuse all teachers from wearing coats and ties.

I attended a public meeting at the Princes' Building at which a silver collection was being taken at the door. We queued up, and when my turn came, I merely said "I am a civil servant", and was allowed to pass on without contributing. Recently at a dance, when supper-time came, I tried to make a discreet getaway from the girl with whom I was dancing: she held on to my arm and whispered, "Don't worry: I know you're working for Red House: I'll order supper for two and I'll pay the bill".'

Efforts at price control were late, weak, and clumsy, and succeeded in stirring the animosity of local traders. These were unaccustomed to wartime control, having made uninterrupted hay in the first sunny years of the war. One important measure related to the limitation of profit on the landed cost of imports. The Stores long understood it to be impending; when it came, it came with drastic suddenness, requiring prompt re-marking of goods. Protests that it could not be done in the time allotted were disregarded, whereupon the Stores closed in a body for several weeks. Later, when the merchants protested that, owing to the small volume of goods handled, the profits conceded were too meagre, the government weakly amended its schedule. Either the measure was carelessly prepared (it is generally admitted that, in the Colonial Service, there are insufficient brains to go round, while too little use had certainly been made on the Control Board of men with commercial experience); or there was insufficient determination in dealing with a powerful element in the population. Whatever the answer, the natives could not fail to notice this display of incompetence and ill-will shown by two sections of the white population. When, later, it was understood that the traders were defeating the government right and left, laying up credits abroad by requesting foreign sellers to falsify invoice prices, comment became even less favourable.

Lack of opportunity for the creole population has long been a grievance; and nothing has occurred during the war to remedy it. Despite difficulties of transport, men have been brought extraordinary distances to take up posts which, in the opinion of good judges, could have been creditably filled by men on the spot. It is useless to speak of progress, however leisurely, on the path of self-government, under such conditions. No sane man, of course, believes in the possibility of local autonomy for Trinidad within measurable time: to do so would be equivalent, in Mr. Morrison's words, to giving a latchkey, a bank account, and a shotgun, to a child of ten. The Port of Spain Municipal Council has certainly shown, in recent years, a ten-year old mentality. Its meetings have been marked invariably by heated words and fisticuffs; and shortly before my departure, the Mayor distinguished himself by going to prison for embezzlement. The local education system is still far too backward to ensure an adequate supply of competent administrators, or to allow of adult suffrage: but

(2) *Priest grinding rice in Trinidad*

'East Indian' isolation:
(1) *Religious procession at Port of Spain*

Descendant of slaves pounding rice

is it being improved as rapidly as possible? The proportion of Elementary children which passes to Secondary schools is ludicrous; and there is as yet no adult education worthy of the name.

In the event of future trouble, it would be unwise to reckon on the loyalty of large sections of the black or coloured population, or on the lazy and pacific nature of the negro. The general attitude of Trinidadians to the British is mainly one of indifference. The older natives may proclaim their affection for us. But the younger negroes, together with islanders of European stock, are in no sentimental mood. When, at the close of a film, the head of the King is shown on the screen and the National Anthem played, few natives stand to attention, the bulk of them making for the exits in noisy disorder! German propaganda would have had a fertile breeding ground here, and it is hard to resist the belief that, had an invading force arrived, it would have found less local opposition than did the Japanese in Burma. Certainly, the number of volunteers in the Trinidad forces is exceptionally small.

POLICEMAN BURNED ALIVE

Since the turn of the century, Trinidad has remained quiescent. But the 'troubles' of 1937, in which, among other things, a mob near Fyzabad drenched a police constable in gasolene and burned him alive, showed that the local climate, humid, enervating, and hard on mental and physical faculties alike, will not necessarily preclude displays of destructiveness. (Nor will the potent Trinidad rum, singularly soporific, and providing a classic hangover). As a matter of fact, though the natives tend to be listless and fatalistic after decades of white rule, and are generally too preoccupied with earning a living to become turbulent, Trinidad, during this war, has not remained untouched by the callousness and violence which today prevail globally. During 1942, when considerable numbers of natives, self-styled 'robust men', having been set free by the Americans, had no appetite for hard, ill-paid work, 'hooliganism' developed. Women were assaulted, solitary pedestrians beaten up and robbed, houses and shops plundered. Flogging having been abolished earlier in the war despite white outcries, the main cure for 'hooliganism' lay in heavy prison sentences. In the main temporarily successful, these confirmed the nervousness of the authorities, who had been imposing, all along, savage punishments for quite minor offences (i.e. a fine of $75 for selling two oranges for 4c. instead of the statutory 3c.). With native violence has gone, *pari passu*, an increasing irreligiousness. The Trinidad 'wakes' furnish an example. Here friends and relatives of the dead used to foregather to lament the passing; now, in the words of this year's Calypso (a rhythmic topical song), guests chant such licentious ballads as *Some Girl Something*—

'Not long ago I attended a wake
My arrival at the home was just about daybreak
And naturally, I extended my sympathy
And said a couple words to console the family,
Then suggested a hymn to climax the affair.
No! was the reply, the dead would rather hear
Some girl something, etc.'

During one's stay in this colourful, sun-drenched island, one cannot but note a sense of expectation, an uneasy waiting on an uncertain morrow. The atmosphere is dry as tinder. The white population is apprehensive; the negroes, normally charming and friendly, are sullenly defensive. When, following an A.R.P. demonstration at San Fernando, the Governor and his party left without awaiting the coloured Mayor's speech, overmuch capital was made of a small incident. Meantime, each element scents change and bides its time. The present set-up is hardly consonant with the Atlantic Charter and there is a very real cynicism over our will to implement it. Should we, in the years to come, fail to heed the inexorable laws of change, and give no earnest of good intentions, Trinidad will once more make news.

DEMOCRACY—A FAITH?

'SARATAR'

This follows the article *Democracy—Alive or Dead?* contributed by the author to the June issue

THE history of mankind is primarily a record of man's spiritual development. It is a tale of endless war between good and evil. And it proves that these are unquestionably the two most powerful forces in human affairs. Let anyone who doubts the truth of this read H. G. Wells' *A Short History of the World*, in which, as in a film, the story of the human race is pictured scene by scene from earliest times. The entire drama centres round man's struggle towards a better way of life. In every age we see him making or losing headway according to the ebb and flow of his warring spiritual conceptions.

In our own era of dictatorship and violence, of speed, miscalled progress, and widely corrupted truth, there is some consolation in the knowledge that nothing is really new. The eternal principles of life remain today what they always were; only our perspective is at fault. We need to rediscover and apply those principles before we can emerge from torment.

Four thousand years ago, a king of China, named Yao, chanced one day upon an aged peasant fishing beside a stream, who sang:

> We rise at dawn,
> And rest at sunset;
> We dig wells and drink,
> We till our fields and eat;
> What is the power of the king to us?

How do I know of this incident? Because Yao, in his wisdom, caused it to be recorded as an inspiration to his successors. Why do I quote it? Partly because nowadays, with open gangsterdom on one hand and minority-ruled 'democracy' on another, it is refreshing to recall a king whose power was a matter of indifference to his people, so unobtrusive was it. And partly because, although much has changed in forty centuries, our general attitude towards life has not greatly altered: to dig his well and till his field in peace, that is still the modest sum of the common man's desire—although today he calls it 'social security'. It sounds a simple enough ambition. But is it?

On 23 November 1939, *The Times* published a remarkable letter written by Dr. G. P. Bidder, in which he said: 'Too many people think and speak as if peace were the natural state of the world, disturbed from time to time by wicked men like . . . the Huns, Napoleon, and Hitler. There is no peace in Nature; peace is the greatest product of the human intellect. In Nature, not only is 'the butterfly killed by the swallow, the swallow speared by the shrike', but the cattle and the rabbits contend for the grass, and the roots of the trees wage ceaseless warfare. . . . Let us abstain from the folly of pretending again that we shall have peace by the removal of the Kaiser, the German Army, or Hitler, or the Nazis. There is no peace when the rabbits have driven the cattle from the pasture, there is deadly war as to which rabbits shall starve and which thrive. . . . If our minds are great enough now and our ideals are wise enough, the best men among us may set a new order in the world which will give it peace—trebling the value of every man's work and his time for happiness and the speed of discovery and the value of life. This year, next year, in a hundred years, in a thousand years this will be attained. Peace will not be won by conquest or obliteration: it must be invented and constructed and maintained by endless effort, such as is now given to the perfection of war.'

I have quoted these words at length because they are fundamental to the issues that will confront us in the hour of victory. Peace is everyone's affair; it is not a prerogative of governments. In Britain, in the United States, in subject Europe, wherever free-minded men are to be found, a universal searching of heart is now in progress. The rank and file of people, conscious of old evils, grope for new remedies. Many have yet to grasp the real nature of the forces militating against social security; many still fail to recognise the presence and the menace of those forces in their own midst. Popular conception of the future is still blurred. People clutch at straws—witness the rapid growth of Common Wealth, that curious

SIR RICHARD ACLAND, *tempestuous leader of Common Wealth*

product of social ethics and the *Führerprinzip*. We still tend to put our faith in slogans, forgetting that noble ideals are nothing, except as deeds. Nevertheless, men and women are awaking to the need to think and act for themselves. That is the keynote of the future democracy for which we are fighting. As victory approaches, and with it the prospect of a Parliamentary general election, the need for clear thinking by common people becomes daily more urgent. And if this vital need is to be met, prophets must take precedence before leaders. Unhappily, while soothsayers abound in and out of Parliament, prophets are scarce. This is no time to put our trust in pri ces; it is a time to pay attention to facts, not oracles.

In a previous article I suggested that political and economic forms are, in themselves, no guarantee of vital democracy; that its living nature derives solely from the people who compose it, who must continually nourish its vitality, to prevent it from deteriorating into a partially organic, that is to say diseased, condition. In true democracy, the rulers are responsible to the nation, but the people are responsible *for* the nation. This means that the people, not the rulers, must be held ultimately accountable for the nation's acts. We do not shirk our personal duties in war; to shirk them in peace is no less culpable sabotage. In 1919, we shifted our responsibilities on to a coupon-elected government, and then turned our minds to more amusing things. The present war is a people's war, and unless there is a people's peace, it will have been fought in vain. For without a people's peace, post-war democracy will be a sham and social security an empty phrase. Is that what our young men and women are fighting and dying for?

Remember the last time. 'The morning freshness of the world-to-be intoxicated us. We were wrought up with ideas inexpressible and vaporous, but to be fought for. We lived many lives in those whirling campaigns, never sparing ourselves: yet when we achieved and the new world dawned, the old men came out again and took our victory to re-make in the likeness of the former world they knew. Youth could win, but had not learned to keep: and was pitiably weak against age. We stammered that we had worked for a new heaven and a new earth, and they thanked us kindly and made their peace. All men dream: but not equally. Those who dream by night in the dusty recesses of their minds wake in the day to find that it was vanity: but the dreamers of the day are dangerous men, for they may act their dream with open eyes, to make it possible.' [From the introductory chapter to *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, by T. E. Lawrence. The passage was originally suppressed, but was later published among the author's miscellaneous writings in *Oriental Assembly*, pp. 142–3, edited by A.W. Lawrence, May 1939.]

To dream constructively, to play each a useful part in building the future world upon impregnable foundations, we must understand the main underlying causes of present disorder.

All that is human, said Gibbon, must retrograde if it does not advance. Civilisation cannot stand still. If it goes backward, anarchy results, then war. To move forward, it requires a pattern for development, whose nature must be alive and spiritual, in order to co-ordinate and make fruitful the ever-changing complexity of human affairs. The Chinese called this pattern *Tao*, or the Way of Life. Wrote Lao Tse: 'How great is the *Tao*! It cannot be seen, nor heard, nor even named. How quiet it is! It has no form, and yet it reaches everywhere. All things depend on it for life, and it does not refuse them; it loves and feeds all things, but does not claim them for its own. All things come from it and return to it, but it does not act as their master. It is smaller

than the small, and greater than the great. *Tao* lies hidden and cannot be named, yet it can transform and protect all things.' *Tao* was the source of all virtue, and of virtue he observed: 'Great virtue is like water. Water nourishes everything, yet it takes the lowest place of all. Rivers and oceans are the lords of a hundred streams because they are lower than the streams. Nothing is more tender and delicate than water, but it can conquer things that are strong and hard.'

But the Chinese realised that, alone, the Way of Life was not enough; just as, in our case, the democratic theory alone is not enough. They saw that the human personality must be woven into that pattern, so that all men and women and children, as members of the *Tao* and of one another, united by faith, might play their part in the harmony of creation and all created things. The need for active personal participation in the divine plan was preached by Confucius, of whom it is said that he flew in songs through the people's mouths. (If such a one were in our midst today!) Confucius was no respecter of persons. In a feudal land, confronted on every side by wealth and arrogance and power, he saw all men as equals—except in education. 'Where there is education,' he said, 'there will be no difference of class.' He taught all who came to him desiring to learn, the ignorant and wise alike.

His teaching had chiefly to do with *Li*, a term for which there is no exact translation in our tongue, but which concerns the ethics of human relationship, not only with other persons, but with the forces of creation and all creatures and things. *Li* embraces the ideals and the art of personal conduct. Conduct, insisted Confucius, is the vital link between humanity and the *Tao*, the Divine Pattern. All men are originally endowed with the Five Virtues: charity, courtesy, the powers of perception and thought, probity and honour. By cultivating and exercising these virtues man may attain perfect relationships with all that belongs to the *Tao*, both terrestrial and spiritual. If he fails, the fault is his, and the failure a frustration of the divine ordinance and a crime against his fellow-creatures. The most important relationships were those with other persons, upon which rested the foundation and and bulwarks of peace.

In this century of new orders and *Führers*, it may be profitable to reflect for a moment upon a Confucian formula for good government: 'The ancient kings who wished to make their kingdom perfectly happy, first put their provinces in order. Since they wished to put their provinces in order, they first made their own families happy and harmonious. Since they wished their families to be happy and harmonious, they first controlled themselves. Since they wished to control themselves, they first purified their hearts. Wishing to purify their hearts, they first tried to think rightly. Wishing to think rightly, they learned all that they could learn. One learns by finding out the truth about things. Having found out the truth, their learning was complete. When their learning was complete, they were able to think rightly. When they could think rightly, they were able to purify their hearts. Their hearts being pure, they could control themselves. When they could control themselves, they could make their families happy and harmonious. Their families being happy and harmonious, they could put their provinces in order. Their provinces being in order, the whole kingdom was happy and peaceful. From the Son of Heaven down to the multitudes of the people, self-control is the root of all things. When the root is cared for, that which springs from it must be right.' Is there not here the basis, not only for a Four Year Plan, but for one that would endure throughout eternity?

'LAWRENCE OF ARABIA'

(It may be objected that this article is no more than a patchwork of quotations and contains

not a single original thought. I admit it. Very few of us are capable of useful originality. That is why we need to seek out true prophets, and pay attention to their words. Our personal responsibility in the new democracy that we hope to build after the war will be a real one, and it will be morally inexorable. Democracy implies the sovereign power of the people, that is to say, of you and me and others like us. It is our primary democratic duty to exercise that power at all times, not merely, and then often perfunctorily, at Parliamentary elections. Can we, in actual fact, take destiny into our own hands and fashion it to our will? If we go about it the right way, we can. But first we must learn and understand first principles; and this leads one to consult the sages. I am deliberately attempting in this article an exercise in democratic thinking.)

The great Western civilisation to which we belong has likewise known its patterns for living. The first was provided by the Roman Empire; but when Rome fell, Europe was left in chaos, and the Dark Ages followed. Later, the Catholic Church inspired the pattern of feudalism, which served its purpose well enough during the Middle Ages. But this design, which depended on the Church's monopoly of learning, was neither flexible nor strong enough to assimilate the impact of the great scientific and economic developments which sprang from the Renaissance. Powerful monarchies arose and continued to hold Western civilisation together for a time, but their roots were in feudalism, which did not recognise the universal brotherhood of man, despite the Christian source from which it originally derived, and they in turn were forced to yield to a growing demand for popular government.

Chinese philosopher, LAO TSE

THE INDIVIDUAL IN ISOLATION IS NOTHING

Government by the people began by a revolution which is still in progress today, and it began under exceedingly unfavourable auspices. Instead of a workable system, its leaders supplied catch-phrases, as leaders do today, and much of their philosophy was based on error. They preached the rights of man as an individual, disregarding that in civilised society the individual is nothing, except only in his relationship with others. The most vigorous off-spring of the French Revolution were *laisser-faire* Liberalism, the gospel of dog-eat-dog, which spells reaction rather than progress, and its no less evil twin, class-warfare, which is a direct denial of the principle of universal human co-operation. Thus rich and poor alike marched forward to destruction, unable or unwilling to formulate a common ideal.

The invention of the steam-engine let loose an avalanche of problems, social, economic, political, geographic, which grew with alarming rapidity in size and in momentum. Civilisation cracked under its onslaught, for, bereft of a unifying organic pattern, its strength was sapped. Bitter class warfare stimulated general disintegration. The Churches dithered in a pitiful attempt to be all things to all men, and at the same time retain their power. Christian teaching became meaningless to many. Final disruption was for a time delayed in some countries by feverish imperial exploitation, an insidious palliative which actually aggravated the condition it was supposed to cure. Then suddenly, in 1914, the entire civilised structure of the world exploded. Landmarks were everywhere obliterated; faith lost its meaning; reason vanished; and humanity returned to barbarous ways. Disintegration then spread like pestilence through every plane of human relationships, and even the family, corner-stone of the social structure, began to show signs of decay.

Among certain of the more gravely afflicted nations, attempts were made to restore some semblance of stability by means of Communism, Fascism and the like. Disregarding their varying merits and demerits, each of these systems has this much in common with the others: compulsory limitation of personal liberty and glorification of the state. Each therefore seeks to impose

a pattern on its citizens, whereas in democracy the citizen normally provides the pattern for the state. To this extent, these systems are fundamentally reactionary, although in many respects their technique is notably progressive. Fascism and Nazism, however, openly returned to savagery, basing their entire political and economic policy on armed piracy. It has now become clear that no mechanical system for a new order can solve the problems confronting humanity today. These can only be worked out in terms of people; and this implies, further, that the people must do their own arithmetic. There is not the remotest prospect of social security, so long as human relationships remain as they are now.

It should be noted that during the bitter lunatic years after 1918, prophets were not silent. In November 1934, for example, General Smuts uttered this warning in an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs: 'Not in our separateness and exclusiveness, not in mere nationalism, either political or economic, lies the way out of our present troubles, but in our steadily increasing sociality, in the interweaving of interests, viewpoints and ideas, in the open door and the removal of barriers and restrictions, in the dominance of large human principles transcending national boundaries, in the recognition that in mankind we are members of one another.'

In the same year, Russia was reluctantly admitted to the League of Nations—whose Assembly had by this time become a sort of ante-chamber of the Foreign Office—and from then until 1939 M. Litvinoff strove unceasingly to instil real vitality into the weary phrase 'collective security'. But his appeals, like General Smuts' words, fell upon deaf ears. If one thing is certain in this tottering world, it is that we neglect true prophets at our peril.

What are the essential facts of the present situation? The human race has lost its way, and is rapidly achieving self-destruction. This war is but a single spasmodic phase in the two hundred years' old revolution that gave birth to the United States of America, Republican France, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Contrary to certain accepted views, the war is not an international football match in which high-explosive replaces the ball; for its 'sides' are neither clearly definable, nor are their members, at any rate among the United Nations, playing towards the same ultimate goal. This is true in both a national and international sense. The situation could

JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS, *one of the very few South Africans to rise above the parish pump. Reminded us that we are members of one another*

hardly be more chaotic, but a correct interpretation of it is indispensable to clear thinking for the future.

The revolution that caused the war is a struggle between the principles of human equality and private privilege. But the war itself is actually a distortion of the revolutionary motive, because privilege sits, not only in Berchtesgarten, but also in Whitehall, and elsewhere among the councils of the United Nations. Thus privilege is in deadly conflict with itself, and is even, in certain countries, actually directing the operations designed for its own obliteration abroad. The official aim of the United Nations is to destroy tyranny everywhere and set freedom upon a rock for all time. But the dominating consideration of privileged rulers in the democracies is naturally the defence of their own privilege; and there is ample proof that they have neglected no precautions to that end. By the same token, free-minded men of such democracies lack faith in the institutions they are fighting to defend, because they know that in reality these are still held under oligarchic rule. In plain language, they are fighting under the direction of privilege, against privilege, to defend privilege. Or is it so plain? One thing at least emerges clearly: it is that military victory cannot, on its own account,

decide the outcome of the revolution, which still remains the dominating issue. At best, the end of the war can only prove the end of a great beginning. At worst, it may lead to civil war in many lands, a danger that is far more real and nearer home than some people suppose. If military victory, costing our last ounce of endurance and sacrifice, is no guarantee of future peace, what in God's name can we do to achieve security? Edmund Burke foresaw the present predicament, and named its solution. 'Make the Revolution,' he wrote, 'a parent of settlement, not the nursery of future revolution.' It can be done, but we must go to work at once.

There is neither time nor need to hunt around for saviours. (Hitler took six years to build his people's ark: how fares it now?) This is a job we have to do ourselves. If we do seek help, where shall we find it? In Westminster or in the City of London? What do big business and power politics know of peace? In order to conquer anarchy, our first concern must be to seek out private power everywhere, be it of factions or of individuals, and finally destroy it. There is only one rightful power in democracy, and that is the sovereign and equal prerogative of all its members. Our present system is obsolete and in many ways not merely undemocratic, but positively anti-democratic. It calls for total change, in Parliament, in industry, in every organised department of our national life, and most certainly also in the Foreign Office. Does this mean decorating lamp-posts? Of course not. There are more potent ways than violence, as William Penn proved to an incredulous world when he and his few followers, unarmed, subdued an entire race of far more formidable savages than those with whom we have to deal at home today.

How will this victory be won? By faith in one another, from which will spring a wider faith in all mankind. With that faith the pattern of civilisation can be re-made and life assume its true creative purpose. It is plainly written in the New Testament. Let us also heed the counsel of Confucius and, having re-learned at its Christian source the truth concerning the brotherhood of man, continue by thinking rightly until we can make our families happy and harmonious, not only in the domestic sphere, but in every social, political and economic plane. Then, and only then, will social security be ours, for democracy and the family are one.

Do we need proof that we can do these things? We gave the proof ourselves, three years ago. The crazy armada that sailed to Dunkirk during the gravest hour in our history and rescued our heritage from disaster, was not the product of a system. Our system had broken down. We did the job ourselves. Of that fateful time an American has written: 'So long as the English tongue survives, the word Dunkirk will be spoken with reverence. For in that harbour, in such a hell as never blazed on earth before, at the end of a lost battle, the rags and blemishes that have hidden the soul of democracy fell away. There, beaten but unconquered, in shining splendour, she faced the enemy. . . . This shining thing in the souls of free men Hitler cannot command, or attain, or conquer. . . . It is the great tradition of democracy. It is the future. It is victory.' [*New York Times*, 1 June 1940.]

What we have done once, we can do again. It is a question of clear thinking, faith and the will to do it. And these in turn depend upon the cultivation of common human virtues. If virtue, as most people will admit, is the greatest living force, it is also true that its strongest instrument is public opinion. That instrument is in our hands. With it we can change the ways and, if need be, the very form of Parliament; we can re-inspire our universities, our schools, our churches and our press; we can banish privilege and piracy for ever; and we can win the lasting friendship and collaboration of the peoples of other lands.

ARTIFICIAL BABY

(*Suggested by discussion on Artificial Insemination in the House of Lords and* World Review *articles by Herbert Brewer—and with apologies to* Melancholy Baby)

Come to me, inseminated baby!
Grow up quick and show your blood of blue.
When I bought your father from the doctor,
He told me he was Cholmondeley through and through.

You're going to be a perfect semi-baby,
But not detached, for I'm your mother true:
I'll do my very best, Cholmondeley blood should work the rest,
I hope you won't be artificial too!

STELLA BAIN

THE ENGLISH IMPRESSIONISTS

R. H. WILENSKI

Author of English Painting, Modern French Painters, etc.

SINCE the war began, the Tate Gallery has acquired more pictures by James McNeill Whistler (who died at sixty-nine in 1903) and Walter Sickert (who died at eighty-one last year). That is as it should be. The French Impressionists, of whom I wrote here in a recent issue, have come into their own in England. It is only fair that Whistler and Sickert, who rank as pioneer Impressionists in English art history, should also have their due—though neither was racially quite English (Whistler was American and Sickert's father was a Dane) and neither was quite an Impressionist in the true French meaning of the term.

The stories of Whistler and Sickert are linked together and both are linked to the Impressionist Movement. And we get the hang of this, I think, if we begin by remembering that day in 1883 when Whistler, aged forty-nine, spoke as follows to his pupil Sickert, then twenty-three: 'I want to send my picture *Portrait of my Mother* to the Paris Salon. I want you to take it over and see it safely delivered. While you are there you can improve your education by meeting two great artists who are among my friends—Edouard Manet and Edgar Degas. Will you go?' Sickert went. He had the letters of introduction in his pocket. When he arrived, Manet was on his death-bed and could not see him. Degas he found in a studio full of the 'properties' that went to the making of his pictures—the ballet skirts and shoes in which he dressed his dancers, the spiral staircase (replica of the one in the training room at the Opera) and the tin bath in which his models posed for the countless versions of *Femme à sa toilette*. But Degas liked him and there thus began a friendship that lasted till Degas died in 1917.

Whistler himself had met Manet and Degas in Paris in the 'sixties, and there also he had been captured by the charm of Japanese prints, the taste for which had been partly launched by

WINSTON CHURCHILL, *by Sickert. This portrait, painted in 1928 when Mr. Churchill was 54, is an example of Sickert's use of photography in the early stages of a painting*

Manet's friend, the poet Baudelaire; and the flat patterning in his *Thomas Carlyle* (reproduced herewith) is due to his admiration of these prints.

But though he was in sympathy with the Impressionist Movement of the 'seventies, he was never concerned, like Monet, Pissaro and the others, to record the brilliant glare of noonday sunlight or the flicker of sunlight and shadow through trees. The light effects which enchanted him were the blue-grey twilight in the hour when the sun has just set and night has not yet come, and the misty grey of a night 'accidented', as the French say, with golden spots of man-made artificial lights. Whistler was an Impressionist in the sense that he painted purely visual impressions (as distinguished from what the Victorians called 'subject pictures') especially in his water colours, and in the sense that in his 'Nocturnes' he was concerned with effects of light. But he was not, like the Frenchmen, a sunlight painter, and he was entirely original in his choice of diffused twilight as his subject.

BRIGHTON FRONT, *by Sickert. An impression of a concert party at the seaside (painted during the last war). A decorative colour scheme of pink, gold and blue*

ENNUI, *by Sickert. One of the artist's most considered compositions, which belongs to the Tate Gallery. It shows the influence of his first master, Whistler*

THE SISTERS LLOYD, *by Sickert. Like his master, Degas, Sickert was always fascinated by stage-light effects. This is a good example, painted at the beginning of the 'naughty 'nineties'*

THOMAS CARLYLE, *by Whistler. The famous picture in the Glasgow Gallery, showing the influence of Japanese art on Whistler*

Sickert also can more properly be called allied to the Impressionist Movement than actually of it. Till he was over fifty he was largely influenced by Whistler's preference for twilight rather than full daylight effects, and he used low-keyed colour-schemes both for street scenes and for interiors with figures; and we have only to compare his *Ennui* (which I reproduce here) with Whistler's *Thomas Carlyle* to see that he used also on occasion the decorative patterning which came to him through Whistler from the Japanese.

In this first half of his life (up to 1913, the end of what art historians call his Camden Town Period) the influence of Impressionism on his painting was mainly the influence of Degas; and we see this not only in his technique but also in his choice of subjects—or perhaps I should say in his choice of material, because Sickert, as a pupil of Whistler and as a quasi-Impressionist, never painted 'subject pictures' in the Royal Academy sense. He followed Degas in the choice of theatre interiors as material. But whereas Degas went mainly to the Opera to study the ballets, Sickert went to the London Music Halls where the fare provided, though less consciously æsthetic, was colourful enough with the help of limelight to charm him as a painter, and racily human enough to entertain him as a man. Sickert's London Music Hall pictures were mainly painted in the 'eighties and 'nineties. Sometimes he shows us the stage, sometimes the audience, and sometimes, in the Degas tradition, the two together with dark foreground figures silhouetted against the light on the stage. I reproduce one of the first type, *The Sisters Lloyd*, a typical apparition of the days of great bunching sleeves.

In his later years Sickert, influenced by Post-Impressionism, used brighter colours. There are pinks and purples, for example in *Brighton Front*, a witty presentation of a seaside concert-party performing, which he painted at the beginning of this second period (and which I reproduce).

Much has been written about Sickert's refusal to paint 'from nature'. His method, in fact, was to make a drawing, or take an old print or a modern photograph and paint from that. The *Portrait of Winston Churchill* (reproduced here), was painted, for instance, from a photograph; and he roused much discussion when he inscribed on a picture called *King George V talking to Major Fetherstonhaugh at the Grand National* 1927 'By Courtesy of Topical Press' (the copyright owners of the photograph used). He was also much criticised in certain quarters because, at one period he used wood-engravings published in old Victorian magazines as the basis for a series of decorative, gaily-coloured pictures, which he labelled generically *Echoes*. For my own part, I have never seen what all the censure was about. It always seemed to Sickert, who was essentially a painter, that a painter's business is to paint. In his view a painting began where the drawing, the print, or the photograph used for it, left off; and the picture failed or succeeded on its merits as a painting independent of the scaffolding employed to build it up. Also, of course, all the Renaissance Old Masters habitually painted from drawings; and both Manet and Degas used photographs (as scores of living artists also do when no one is about). Sickert was unusual only in advertising these procedures as, for example, when he wrote in *The Times*: 'To forbid the artist the use of available documents, of which the photograph is the most valuable, is to deny to a historian the study of contemporary shorthand reports. The facts remain at the disposition of the artist.'

Both Whistler and Sickert, like the French Impressionists, have now passed into history. Both were great artists whose reputations will remain. Both also have added to the store of legends about the eccentricities of artists. Whistler's tantrums and verbal battles were very famous in his day; and there are scores of people living who can tell first-hand (and first-rate) stories of Sickert's sartorial and hirsute fantasies, his quaint extravagances and his entertaining wit.

All facets of an artist are worth study. If we want to understand the whole nature and genesis of this or that man's pictures, sculpture, music or whatever it may be, we have to analyse all aspects of his personality—either as psychologists, in learned discourse of 'exhibitionism,' 'harlequin-defence-mechanism' and so forth, or as plain men testing the behaviour of other people by our own experience. To do this adequately in either way is very difficult, firstly because it is always hard to get at all the facts about anything and secondly because many great artists, many minor artists, many near-artists and many purely money-seeking practitioners behave in ways that seem, at first glance, the same. But though the task is difficult, it is well worth while. For a man's art is the product not of some special parts of him but of his whole make-up in relation to his surroundings at the time.

VENEREAL DISEASE IN BRITAIN

KENNETH WALKER, M.B.B.Ch., F.R.C.S.
Author of *The Circle of Life, Diagnosis of Man,* etc.

FEW writers are able to prevent personal prejudice from creeping into their books on venereal disease, for this subject and sexual morality are closely allied. Fortunately Dr. Sydney M. Laird, the author of *Veneral Disease in Britain*,[1] has presented his views without allowing them to become the vehicle of any propaganda, other than that the public should be fully enlightened on the dangers of venereal contagion, and that the authorities should adopt stronger measures to prevent its spread. Theoretically, it would be possible to eliminate venereal diseases from Britain within a few generations. We can easily identify the organisms which cause them; we know the means by which they are spread; and we have excellent remedies for curing them in their earlier stages. This being so, a medical dictator could successfully eliminate them by adopting requisite measures. But in England we have little use for dictators, and are averse to using any form of compulsion when persuasion is possible. During the last century Britain has conducted her campaign against venereal disease mainly on the voluntary principle, supplying efficient centres for treatment, and leaving the public to decide whether it would make use of them or not. In contrast to this, Sweden has evolved a system of notification and of compulsory treatment. Dr. Laird compares the results which have been obtained by these two methods, and tells us that, whereas the ratio of infection in England and Wales is 1.47 per 10,000 of the population, that of Sweden is only 0.67. He points out, however, that Sweden has certain natural advantages over this country. First, it was not actually involved in the last war, and war inevitably results in an increase in venereal disease; and secondly, it is mainly a rural country. Venereal disease flourishes in urban districts, and particularly in towns that are also seaports. In spite of this, Stockholm, which is both a large city and a port, has achieved a proportionately greater reduction in the incidence of syphilis than the rest of Sweden. Dr. Laird favours, therefore, a trial in Britain of measures modelled on the Swedish law of 1918, associated with an intensive education of the public to ensure its co-operation.

Dr. Laird says little or nothing about the part which personal prophylaxis should play in this campaign against venereal disease. Perhaps he is wise to avoid this thorny subject. It will be remembered that, at the close of the last war, when, in spite of the establishment of free clinics in this country, venereal disease was extremely prevalent, a bitter controversy arose on the subject of prophylaxis. Two medical societies, the National Council for Combating Venereal Disease, and the Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease, waged such bitter warfare that a special commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Trevethin, the Lord Chief Justice, to consider the respective merits of the different policies which they advocated. This commission (on which the writer of this article served) met for a whole year in the Ministry of Health to examine statistics and question different experts. At the end of this time, the chairman drew out a masterly report which actually pleased both societies. It was agreed that prophylaxis was an important measure, but perhaps not quite so important as the Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease believed it to be. As the law stood, chemists were allowed to sell prophylactic outfits, provided that no instructions were included to explain their use. The commission recommended that this law should be amended, and that instructions as well as outfits might be sold. But at the Ministry of Health there worked an official who had his own personal views on this subject; and the Trevethin recommendations were quietly pigeon-holed.

The whole sequence of events is being repeated in this present war. There has been the same rapid increase of venereal disease following the breaking up of homes and the mobilisation of men and women. At the conclusion of hostilities there will be the same danger of infected men and women returning to civil life and spreading disease, but this time on a far larger scale. The voluntary measures which were suitable for times of peace will no longer be sufficient to deal with a problem which has assumed such vast and dangerous proportions.

[1] Penguin Special. 9d.

We have become so accustomed to submit gracefully to measures framed for the public good that the great majority of people will be in the mood to accept any reasonable legislation on venereal disease. In 1942, at a meeting of the Medical Society for the Study of Venereal Diseases, it was unanimously resolved that 'further measures, legislative and administrative, in the treatment and prevention of venereal disease, are required to deal with defaulters (from treatment), sources of infection and contacts.' Medical specialists have plainly stated their views; but the government has not yet shown its hand. It is to be hoped that history will not repeat itself, and that some official at the Ministry of Health will not quietly place the recommendations of the experts in the same pigeon-hole which contains their predecessors.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHILDLESSNESS—No. 2

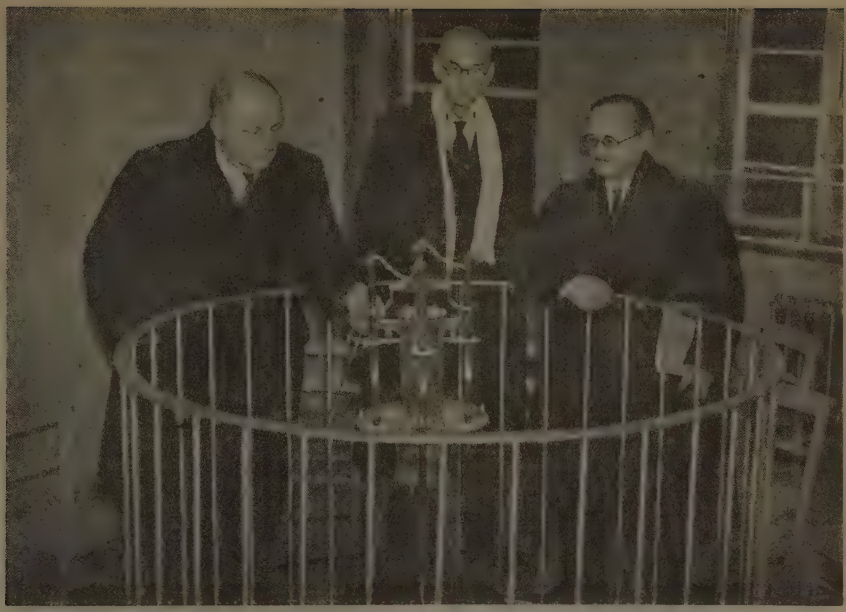
HERBERT BREWER

Author of the Section 'Eugenics' in the *Encyclopaedia of Modern Knowledge*, etc.

In a preceding article attention was drawn to the serious prospect of impending depopulation and to the connection therewith of some 10 per cent or more of married couples who find themselves involuntarily sterile. The project of the Family Planning Association, which has recently been voiced by Lord Horder, was referred to. This aims at instituting throughout the country clinics where childless couples may receive advice and treatment. This work must command the warm assent of everyone who realises that the family is the foundation of the nation. Nothing is so calculated to strengthen the sources, both of morality and of national greatness, than to bring to every worthy man the opportunity for making 'a happy fireside clime for weans and wife'.

But orthodox treatment of sterility has its limitations. Under the best of specialist care hitherto, the proportion of childless marriages which have been relieved thereby is but about one case in five. In these circumstances an increasing tendency has revealed itself in recent years, especially in the U.S.A., to resort to artificial fertilization. This practice has been employed on a wide scale in animal breeding, especially in Russia. The magnitude of its application there may be gauged from the fact that the Russian livestock programme for 1941 envisaged the artificial insemination of 702,000 mares, 2,186,000 cows and 17,900,000 ewes (*Sovetsk Zostek* No. 2, 1941). From the purely physiological viewpoint, the application of artificial insemination to the human subject is as perfectly feasible as with animals. It may here be interesting to recall a letter written by the French savant, Charles Bonnet, to Spollanzani who, in 1780, recorded the first authentic artificial insemination of a mammal, a spaniel bitch. 'I know not,' Bonnet wrote, 'whether what you have now discovered, may not one day be applied to the human species to purpose we little think of, and of which the consequences will not be trivial.'

Down to 1924 Rohleder, in all the medical literature, was only able to find 129 cases where artificial insemination had been employed in the human subject, and of these but 56 had been successful. Advances in physiological knowledge and in the attitude of the public towards the matter has since brought about a change which can only be described as startling. In the U.S.A. Koerner and Seymour of New York (*Journal of American Medical Association*, 21-6-41), who have themselves been pioneers in the practice, circularised 30,000 physicians and collated the experience of those who replied. This revealed that at least 9,489 women had achieved pregnancy by this means and that in 3,649 cases donors other than the husband had been concerned. An interesting feature was the significant but unexplained predominance of boys born who numbered 5,676 as against 3,813 girls. Even these figures do not reveal the full implications of this new departure. For it is important to note that these married people are probably only a fraction of the number who would, if facilities



LORD HORDER (right) *being shown artificial sunlight apparatus by Dr. John Macmillan, Woolwich M.O.H.*

were available and known, be glad to resort to such assistance. Far from being encouraged and publicised, the new treatment has been referred to by physicians, if at all, with great reserve. This is not surprising since the medico-legal position as well as the morality of the practice is ill defined. In these circumstances, it appears that it is reasonable to accept an earlier estimate by Caldwell (*Scientific American*, March 1934) that 10,000 to 20,000 represents the annual potential demand, that is to say, the number of sterile spouses who would desire to avail themselves of artificial insemination were the facilities available.

Now this indeed represents a revolution both in respect of human reproduction and of morality. It is one which calls for sane and intrepid thought. The question has been little discussed even in medical literature where the chief references have been to the possible legal involvements of the physician in assisting in the production of a child who is not, in fact, the child of the ostensible father. Press comments in general have been tolerant or sympathetic, though, as might be expected, there have been a few flippant references to 'test tube babies'.

To weigh the pros and cons of the matter, it is first necessary to realise the motives of the people who are inclined to resort to this artificial assistance. There is no doubt that the inability to have children is frequently felt, and especially by women, as a very great source of distress and unhappiness. 'Give me children or I die,' was the cry of Rachel which has been echoed by women of all ages, and will continue to be, so long as women remain what they normally are, that is to say, biological organisms specialised and adapted in every fibre of mind and body to the creation of new life. The testimony of gynæcologists with long experience of such cases is impressive on the point and that of Forsdike may stand for all. 'Sterility,' he says, 'to the individual may be the source of the greatest unhappiness and despair, frequently ending what would otherwise be an ideal union. To achieve success in a case of sterility confers greater happiness upon the people concerned than any other form of surgical procedure, and the search for a solution should not be given up lightly.' We may sympathise and agree, while yet reserving judgment upon proposals which

might well be held to undermine the foundations of marriage and the family.

THE CRY OF RACHEL

Let us examine the problem, very briefly, in its historical aspect. Sterility, as the example of Rachel suggests, is no new thing. The ancient literature of India, Persia and China abounds with references to childlessness as one of the major evils of human existence, while fertility cults and beliefs and practices reported by anthropologists from all over the world reveal the same thing of peoples in the lower stages of culture. Likewise universal has been the practice, not indeed frequent, but certainly widespread, of proxy parenthood. Jacob, responding to the cry of Rachel, implemented such an act with the aid of her maid, Billah, who bore a child on Rachel's behalf. More frequently the proxy has been called in on the other side. In India the Laws of Manu and Gautama consecrated the practice of calling upon a kinsman to deputise for the sterile husband, and a beautiful story in the Mahabharata relates how King Pandu through great austerities evoked gods from heaven to beget upon his otherwise childless queen, Kunti, noble offspring, referring in the course of his persuasive entreaty to many precedents for this course. Of ancient Arabia, Greece, and Rome, the same practice is reported. The quasi-Utopian régime of Lycurgus in Sparta explicitly inculcated that husbands should encourage other men to beget children for them, where this promised to ensure better offspring. Cato the Younger lent his wife Marcia to Hortensius, later to receive her back again, in order, to quote Plutarch, that by a 'community of offspring among worthy men, it would make virtue abundant and widely diffused among families and would mingle the state with itself by these family relationships.' Strabo says that in this he was acting in accordance with an ancient custom of the Romans and there is no reason to doubt he was. The anthropological references are numerous, and for further information Briffault, Hartland, Meyer and Robertson Smith may be consulted.

There is no reason to believe that full-blooded proxy parenthood, agreed or surreptitious, is entirely an affair of the past. In India evidence exists for believing that the priest may still occasionally perform procreative duties, in the words of Lt.-Gen. Sir G. MacMunn, 'for the good and sanctification of the race'. The Oneida Community in the U.S.A., which was eulogised by Bernard Shaw in the preface to *Man and Superman*, merely institutionalised the proxy father idea concurrently with free sexual relations. There can be little doubt that the proposal made by Sir Clifford Chatterley in *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, a proposal implemented by the central figure in Dunois' interesting novel, *The Natural Mother*, occasionally happens in real life. We have the evidence of the gynæcologist to confirm this, as when Robinson refers to the wild desire for maternity causing wives to break their marital vows. Indeed we may see in such well-worn phrases as '*pater semper incertus est*', and '*la recherche pour la paternité est interdite*', support for the theory that it is not always mere hedonism that is responsible for feminine frailty.

SHAW AND PLATO ARGUE OTHERWISE

The purpose here is not to extenuate but to describe and elucidate. The practices referred to above cannot, in the judgment of the writer, be defended. They would, if approved in social sentiment, strike a deadly blow against fidelity in marriage and the stability of the family which at all costs we must seek to preserve. Shaw, indeed, has argued otherwise and we are bound to admit he has the quite considerable authority of Plato with him. Fortunately, however, the new biological technique renders the Platonic, Noyesian and Shavian proposals academic, and it is as a solution of a large part of the problem of childlessness without endangering marital fidelity that the new technique of reproduction seems altogether to be commended. Those orthodox custodians of morality should reflect, lest in denying artificial insemination they drive wives to the infinitely more dubious resort of cuckolding their husbands. And if it be rejoined that, anyhow, the number of such sinners is small, it seems legitimate to rejoin that there is much joy over one sinner that repenteth, and that to save even one woman from infidelity is a worthwhile effort against Satan.

In short, examined from the viewpoint of sexual morality, artificial insemination in cases of childlessness seems to have convincing reasons in its favour, always provided it be carried out under proper conditions and with a full sense of responsibility on the part of all concerned. And this, in fact, is the view of that great authority on sexual psychology, the late Magnus Hirschfeld. 'There are,' he wrote, 'occasional instances of a desire for children so deep and dominant that, if the semen of the woman's husband cannot

be obtained or used in artificial fertilisation, that of another man is suggested as a substitute. Most persons shrink from the simple expedient of actual contact with a virile third party, for the act of intercourse appears to them to constitute possession whereas the artificial introduction of the seed seems more impersonal and not incompatible with marital fidelity and unity.'

NO LEGAL ACTION

Of the medico-legal possibilities it seems clear that, providing full understanding and agreement between spouses exists and anonymity as to donors is preserved, there is little danger to be anticipated. It is, perhaps, worthy of note that no legal actions have yet ensued in the U.S.A. Doubts as to the legal status of the child, it would seem, could simply be put at rest by carrying out an act of formal adoption.

There remains one aspect, perhaps the most fundamental of all. It concerns the child itself. We are slowly beginning to develop a eugenic conscience and to realise that the most tremendous responsibility anyone can assume is that of deliberately creating a new human being. Far more important than sending anyone out of the world, judicially or otherwise, is to start new life that not only will last longer than that already there, but which for good or evil may perpetuate the qualities it bears into an indefinitely long future. We know now beyond dispute that heredity is a factor of fundamental importance in human affairs, and that unless the foundations of life are well and truly laid, the house will not stand. Predispositions to insanity, moral obliquity, physical and mental defectiveness, are inherited. So are tendencies in the direction of health, vitality, intelligence, longevity and creative and social dispositions. For the first time in the history of mankind we can, if we will, guide our own biological evolution in ensuring the selective reproduction of the best types of the species. The application of artificial insemination to eugenic ends would mean that individuals of superlative genetic excellence, through the channels of those otherwise sterile marriages, could pour into the germ stream of the race, generation by generation, the hereditary basis of all those desirable qualities referred to above. We could, in short, progressively grade up the whole population to the level of the wisest, the happiest, the most vital, the most socially useful. For such an application of artificial insemination to human reproduction, the writer has proposed the name eu-telegenesis, which, as its etymology suggests, is generation at a distance with an ethical aim in view (Cf. *Eugenics Review* 27:358). Eutelegenesis, in short, is the answer to the hitherto unanswered question of how we should discharge our duty to posterity in ensuring that those who succeed us may really be better men and women than ourselves. Surely never a more sacred nor inescapable duty was ever laid upon mankind than that. Upon the way we answer it depends whether *homo sapiens* shall flicker out in degeneration or go on to become ever more godlike and great. It is impossible to do more than touch upon the biological possibilities of transforming our species for the better which eutelegenesis holds out. Suffice it to say that these views are endorsed by the authority of three of the greatest living biologists in J. B. S. Haldane, Julian Huxley and H. J. Muller, whose *Out of the Night* should be perused in connection with the genetical and social implications.

THOUSANDS OF YEARS OF PASSION

If we are capable of rising to the height of the biological possibilities now opening before us, there is no limit to the future progressive evolution of man. If eutelegenesis may pass, then we may anticipate in due course the appearance of an emerging mankind as superior to ourselves as we are to the apes. What does that mean? It means, to quote J. B. S. Haldane, that 'the average man will realise all the possibilities that human life has so far shown. He will be able to think like Newton, to write like Racine, to paint like the Van Dycks, to compose like Bach. He will be as incapable of hatred as St. Francis, and when death comes at the end of a life probably measured in thousands of years, he will meet it with as little fear as Captain Oates or Arnold Van Winkleried. And every minute of his life will be lived with all the passion of a lover or a discoverer.'

Eutelegenesis demands a new outlook, a new morality. The highest morality consists, not in blind adherence to old folkways and institutions, but in exploring in faith and courage what new ways shall best subserve the progress of mankind.

SCIENCE FRONT

BICENTENARY

AUGUST 26 this year was the two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of a famous French scientist, Antoine Lament Lavoisier. His claim to scientific fame today rests primarily on his investigation of the nature of water and air, and the process of burning, three fundamental problems which, because of their everyday nature, are the foundations of modern chemistry and modern medicine. He studied these with a thoroughness and precision not previously known, and built a theoretical background of careful argument on his experimental results. Perhaps it was his legal training which helped him, because his lawyer father had intended his son to follow him, and Lavoisier actually took law at the University. But at the same time he was attending lectures on meteorology and chemistry and going on geological expeditions in the countryside around Paris with the famous geologist, Guettard. Already before he was twenty-four, he had made a name for himself by his proposals for better street lighting and healthier water supply for the city of Paris, and his proud father willingly supported his scientific investigations. Although thus assured of a modest private income, Lavoisier chose to invest it in the shares of the hated Ferme Génèrale, the privately run oppressive tax-collecting company of France. This quickly made him a very rich man: but he turned his money to good account in schemes for improving the lot of the great ruined, poverty-stricken mass of French people: precision engineering, new agricultural methods, the introduction of the potato, old-age pensions, better education, economic surveys. For the government, too, he worked on many committees which were virtually Lavoisier alone, including the starting of the Metric system of weights and measures, and the nationalisation of the gunpowder industry, with benefit to the Treasury and to Defence.

But in 1789 came the Revolution. At first a liberal movement in which Lavoisier gladly played a part, it soon gathered momentum, and swept far beyond him: his association with the Ferme Génèrale, big business, was his undoing; and in the Terror, in a hasty moment of which the young Republic was repenting within the year, he went to the guillotine, 8 May, 1794.

Amidst his busy public life he had found time to discover, for the first time in human history, that things would only burn when in air, and in burning, increased in weight in this case—he always laid great stress on careful weighing—and that only one-fifth of the air is of use for burning or breathing: the other four-fifths is inert and will not support life, 'azote' as he called it, or Nitrogen. He showed that mercury burned to a red powder, which, when heated, gave off an 'air' and turned to metallic mercury again. This 'air' supported brilliant flames and was invigorating to breathe. It was the one-fifth of the atmosphere abstracted by burning, and he called it Oxygen.

He went on from this to study living things from the point of view of oxygen usage and body warmth. He thought that body heat was the result of slow burning going on within, and got the idea that the heat-production (calorie value) of foodstuffs was important. This was the foundation of our knowledge of nutrition.

He was helped in all his work by his wife, one of the most intelligent women of her time, whom he married at the age of fourteen when he was twenty-eight. It began as a marriage of convenience only, but she set herself to learn foreign languages and drawing, and was able to assist Lavoisier not only in translating chemical works and illustrating his books, but personally in the laboratory. She survived him, and later married Count Rumford, the founder of the Royal Institution.

SHOCKS

WHEN, in the days of peace, your small son used to let off a firework behind your back, and give you a shock, the sort of shock you got was chiefly nervous. At least, you nearly jumped out of your skin, but you quickly recovered all the same, because it was only a spasm of emotion. The kind of shock the doctor is usually interested in is altogether different. It is usually the result of severe wounding, a night-out in the blitz, or a car crash; is prolonged in its action, and has an effect on the circulation, not on the brain. For reasons not yet fully understood, the smaller blood vessels become more permeable and allow a large part of the fluid portion of the blood to leak out into the tissues. The effect of this is that

the sticky section left behind is inadequate to fill all the arteries and veins and smaller blood vessels, and too viscous for the heart to force easily round the circulation. So, although there has been little or no actual loss of blood, the appearance is rather that of severe hæmorrhage: pulseless, pale or going blue, cold, clammy, perhaps unconscious. First Aid workers will be perfectly familiar with this kind of shock. It is quite clear that it is altogether different from psychological shock, which starts a nervous breakdown, or is merely a cause of sudden fright.

All the same, it seems possible that the two kinds of shock might be in some way related, though science has up to now traced no such connection. Recently, however, Dr. Stürup, of Copenhagen, has reported a case which suggests, perhaps for the first time, such a link: it must, of course, be accepted with all due reserve until it has been amply confirmed by the hospitals, or found to be clearly mistaken. Dr. Stürup's case was a woman of thirty-five who came into mental hospital suffering from a prolonged stupor, broken by occasional short attacks of rage. She was diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic, and treated by insulin, and by cardiazol —both 'shock' treatments, but the word 'shock' is again used in a different sense here, merely to mean the use of a drug which will suddenly interfere for a short while with the chemical workings of the brain, and so 'shake it up a bit.' Neither of the treatments woke her out of her stupor, and she remained in hospital with every prospect of an indefinite stay.

One day, however, she was the witness of another patient flying off into paroxysms of rage, and five minutes after this, she had a sudden flood of speech, saying she had just had a great shock: she became short of breath, chilly, pulseless, and within sixteen hours was dead. Examination of her body after her death showed signs of surgical shock, the shock which follows a bad accident and which is a failure of the circulation: yet there were no wounds to account for it.

It is tempting to attribute the surgical shock to the mental shock of seeing the other patient in a rage, as Dr. Stürup does. But it must be admitted that, though it may be so, and psychological and surgical shock therefore interlinked, science has as yet no understanding of it. Psychological shock often involves the sudden revelation to the conscious mind of unpleasant facts which had been repressed into the unconscious, and the mechanism of this upset is a mystery for future research. Even the way in which a sudden unexpected happening causes fright and a quick heart and raised blood pressure is obscure. And the whole set of problems keeps getting obscured by the fact that we have only the one word, shock, to describe what are probably different happenings.

MILK WITHOUT MATING

In order to produce milk, it is necessary to allow the animals (cows or goats) to mate and bear young; and unless these young are killed immediately for meat, they require some of the milk which their mother gives. A recent biological discovery may make it possible to get adequate supplies of milk without mating the animals and waiting for them to have unnecessary offspring. Milk secretion is controlled by chemical substances in the blood known as hormones. There is a group of hormones concerned with the functioning of sex organs, some of them being made in the sex glands (ovaries or testes) themselves, while others come from the pituitary gland at the base of the brain, or from the thyroid in the neck or the adrenals which lie near the kidneys. A considerable amount of control over the secretion of milk can be obtained by injecting various hormones. For instance, strong doses of the female sex hormone 'oestrone' stop the flow of milk; and this has already been used in some cases to assist in bringing lactation to an end when a baby is weaned. Smaller doses of oestrone may merely cause a change in the composition of the milk (actually enriching it). Finally, in some animals, it has been possible to induce the secretion of milk from virgins which have never borne young. But the underlying mechanism is not yet fully understood. The presence of one hormone in the blood undoubtedly affects the rate at which the other hormones are produced, and thus alters the whole hormone balance of the animal. Until we find out exactly how the hormone balance is shifted by any given dose, and how the various possible balances affect functions like milk secretion, the artificial control of milk secretion will remain the rather chancy, hit-or-miss affair it is at present. But it ought not to take us long to get to the bottom of the matter.

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

WHILE we are discussing when our General Election will take place, the French have actually elected their new Chambers. The second ballots are still to be taken, but it would seem that Siam has wiped out Panama, and that the French elector is inclined to give his present rulers a fresh lease of life. The ultimate issue of the elections is somewhat obscure. The result of the first day's polls was as follows:—

Republicans and Radicals—more or less moderate	315
Radicals and Socialists—more or less extreme	30
Conservatives	56
'Rallied' Conservatives	13
	414

140 second ballots are necessary. The Republicans have gained 63 seats, so far, and expect to gain more. M. Jules Guesde has been elected as Socialist representative of Roubaix. The best man in French politics—M. de Mun, the pious, eloquent and enthusiastic leader of the forces of the Catholic democracy—has been defeated. M. Clemenceau has to stand the racket of a second ballot.

THE POPE AS GRAND ELECTOR

NOTHING is more interesting in the French elections than to note the result of the Pope's intervention. The Pope would appear to have gained his end by the sacrifice of his faithful followers. Many Catholics in France, M. D'Haussonville at their head, had refused to rally to the Republic on various pretexts. They explained away the Pope's counsels, and declared that their zeal for the Catholic Church rendered it impossible for them to support the Republic, which is but legalised Freemasonry. To all such malcontents the Pope replied with as much vigour and effect as if, instead of being Leo XIII, he had been a Mr. Chamberlain, denouncing disaffection in a caucus.

Republican Progress in France—The decrease of the Conservative (Black) Area

FRANCO-ITALIAN ANIMOSITY

THERE is little doubt that if France went to war with Italy, many in the Vatican would eagerly welcome the French invader in the hope that the bayonets of the foreigner might re-establish the temporal power.

WOMEN AS JOURNALISTS

MRS. EMILY CRAWFORD contributes to the *Contemporary Review* for September a paper on 'Journalism as a Profession for Women'. Mrs. Crawford thinks well of women as journalists. She laments that journalism in Paris is well-nigh closed against women. This is partly due, she says, to the pest of gallantry, and to the narrow ideas of the wealthy and well-to-do classes about women's place in society.

> 'The first requirement is health and a rich reserve of strength. I don't mean the strength of the railway porter, but the vitality which enables one to recoup rapidly after an exhausting bout of work. Women of good constitutions are more elastic in recovering than men. But elasticity is not enough. There must be staying power. It won't do to suffer from headaches, or to feel easily exhausted.
>
> 'Learn typewriting. There is no better friend to the journalist and the eye-worn printer than the typewriter, which is invaluable to those who have few opportunities to correct their proofs. More typewriters and fewer pianos! The noise at first is distressing, but one gets used to it. Besides, working in noisy places is so often the lot of the journalist, that he or she must learn to be deaf to all that is not good to hear.'

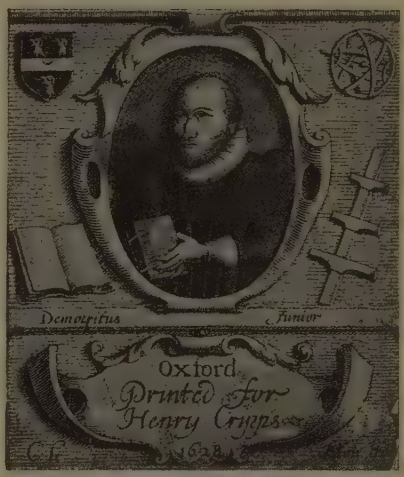
BURTON'S ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY

REVIEWED BY PHILIP MACER-WRIGHT

'THE great direction which Burton has left to men disordered like you is this,' said Doctor Johnson, in a letter to Boswell, '*Be not solitary; be not idle:* which I would thus modify;—If you are idle, be not solitary; if you are solitary, be not idle.'

We do not know, but are disposed to doubt, if Boswell benefited by this prescription, so gracefully embellished by the Doctor. After all, he was rather proud of his melancholy, as Johnson, in so many words, told him. That is, indeed, the prerogative of melancholy men. Nor do we know the extent to which sufferers in Burton's own time sought, or obtained, relief from the salutary precepts of the *Anatomy*. But the book had a vogue. First printed in 1621, the year that produced Bacon's *Novum Organum*, in fifty years seven new quarto impressions were needed to meet the demand for it. One edition appeared during the Commonwealth; another greeted the restoration of the melancholy Merry Monarch who, it may be assumed, was one of the more quizzical of its admirers.

Then, slowly, the *Anatomy* went into limbo, where a perpetual twilight appeared to await it. It became a mere haunt for plagiarists, quarry for indolent literary thieves. In fact it was to the exceptionally barefaced depredations of one celebrated plagiarist that the book owed its temporary return to light and favour. 'Change of times, and the frivolity of fashion, suspended, in some degree, that fame which had lasted near a century', says the 'Advertisement' to my own edition, which is in two volumes octavo and dated 1813, 'and the succeeding generation affected indifference towards an author who at length was only looked into by the plunderers of literature, poachers in obscure volumes. The plagiarisms of *Tristram Shandy*, so successfully brought to light by Dr. Ferriar, at length drew the attention of the public towards a writer, who, though then little known, might without impeachment of modesty lay claim to every mark of respect; and inquiry proved, beyond a doubt, that the calls of justice had been little attended to by others, as well as the facetious Yorick.'



ROBERT BURTON
Title-page of the Third Edition, 1628

Another vogue set in. Johnson, on whom the *Anatomy* would, in its nature, make an irresistible impression, told Boswell that it was the only book that ever took him out of bed two hours sooner than he wished to rise. Other august contemporaries (apart from the unprincipled Yorick) are known to have plumbed its depths. In a later day its praise was sung by Byron, Coleridge, Lamb (who amused himself by producing an imitation) and Southey.

Byron considered it 'most useful to a man who wishes to acquire the reputation of being well-read with the least trouble.' Said Lamb, writing to J. B. Dibdin: 'Mary bids me warn you not to read the *Anatomy of Melancholy* in your present low way. You'll fancy yourself a pipkin, or a headless bear, as Burton speaks of. You'll

be lost in a maze of remedies for a labyrinth of diseasements—a plethora of cures.'

Was, then, Robert Burton a doctor? No, he was a parson. As the literary anatomist he assumed the disguise of Democritus Junior, and Democritus Senior, as he recalls, was 'a little wearish old man, very melancholy by nature, averse from company in his latter days, and much given to solitariness.' He was born in 1576, of good Leicestershire stock; went, at seventeen, to Oxford, where he excelled in logic and philosophy and where, having been elected a Student of Christ Church and given the custody of the college library, he remained. The Dean and Canons of Christ Church conferred on him an Oxford benefice and he received also, from a family patron, the living of Segrave, in Lincolnshire. As a tiny sidelight on the then uneasy and anomalous position of the Church of England there is the tradition that he 'administered the Sacrament in wafers.' But his pastoral administration must have been exiguous and visits to the distant Lincolnshire parish few and far between. Oxford, especially now that Sir Thomas Bodley had founded his renowned library, was his spiritual and corporeal home.

'Yet this much I will say of myself, that I hope without all suspicion of pride, or self-conceit, I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi et Musis*, in the university, as long almost as Xenocrates in Athens, *ad senectam fere*, to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study: for I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing college of Europe . . .

'For thirty years I have continued (having the use of as good libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be therefore loth, either, by living as a drone, to be an unprofitable or unworthy member of so learned and noble a society, or to write that which should be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation . . . Though by my profession a divine . . . I had a great desire . . . to have some smattering in all, to be *aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis* . . . This roving humour I have ever had, and, like a ranging spaniel, that barks at every bird he sees, leaving his game, I have followed all . . .'

And in his room at Christ Church, at the beginning of 1640, he died, having by his Will left, among various bequests, forty shillings to the Dean, whose son was that Dr. Fell whom someone, without precisely knowing why, failed to appreciate. Several years before, as a curious calculator of nativities, he had forecast the time of his death, and undergraduates, according to Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, 'did not forbear to whisper among themselves, that rather than there should be a mistake in the calculation, he sent up his soul to heaven through a slip about his neck.'

The Anatomist had not always been melancholy. Some of the ancients of Christ Church assured Wood that 'his company was very merry, facete, and juvenile; and no man in his time did surpass him for his ready and dextrous interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets, or sentences from classic authors; which being then all the fashion in the university, made his company the more acceptable.' In fact, but for his melancholy, or hypochondria, we should not have had the *Anatomy*. 'I write of melancholy,' he says, 'by being busie, to avoid melancholy.' Again: 'When I first took this task in hand, this I aimed at, to ease my mind by writing, for I had, *gravidum cor, fetum caput*, a kind of imposthume in my head, which I was very desirous to be unladen of, and could imagine no fitter evacuation than this. Besides, I might not well refrain; for, *ubi dolor, ibi digitus*, one must needs scratch where it itches.'

But the hoped-for relief was not granted—that is, if we accept the evidence of Granger's *Biographical History*. According to Granger, the horrid disorder obtained so fast a grip upon him 'that nothing could make him laugh, but going to the bridge-foot and hearing the ribaldry of the bargemen, which rarely failed to throw him into a violent fit of laughter.' This evidence notwithstanding, it is impossible to subscribe wholeheartedly to a belief in the all-pervasive operation of his vapours. If ever a bookworm was happy, Burton was. 'I am not poor, I am not rich,' he proclaimed; '*nihil est, nihil deest;* I have little, I want nothing. All my treasure is in Minerva's tower.' If he was solitary, he was emphatically not idle; the *Anatomy* bears witness to industry that must have left little leisure in which to brood over his own symptoms. With all the follies and maladies of mankind ever before his eyes, it is reasonable to suppose that he could observe his own in proper perspective.

Melancholy is a wide term. So is madness. And to Burton—perhaps rightly—all the world was mad. Madness abounded. Like Hans Sachs, he saw craze everywhere. 'That lovers are mad, I think no man will deny,' he observes blandly. It is a disease that may be traced through every temperament and emotion—'an inbred malady

in every one of us.' Incurable? Well, deep in his heart, Burton probably thought so. But it must have been fine sport anatomising it.

The ANATOMY of MELANCHOLY (runs the title) *What it is, with all the Kinds, Causes, Symptomes, Prognostics and several Cures of it. In three Partitions. With their several Sections, Members, and Subsections, Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically opened and cut up. By DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR.*

The authors upon whom toll has been levied are legion. Even Johnson had to agree that the book was perhaps 'overloaded with quotations.' Granger, while admitting that the quotations are pertinent, reflected that if Burton 'had made more use of his own invention and less of his common-place book, his work would perhaps have been more valuable than it is.' 'A carnival of ideas and phrases,' says Taine. 'Greek, Latin, French, Italian, philosophical, geometrical, medical, poetical, astrological, musical, pedagogic, heaped one on the other. An enormous medley, a prodigious mass of jumbled quotations jostling thoughts with the vivacity and transport of a feast of unreason.'

'I have laboriously collected this cento out of divers writers,' is Burton's own comment, 'and that *sine injuriâ:* I have wronged no authors, but given every man his own . . . I cite and quote mine authors (which, however, some illiterate scribblers account pedantical, as a cloke of ignorance) . . .'

I have even heard it asserted that he invented some of his authors. It would have been in harmony with his more malicious and satirical gusts of humour. One needs be a Latinist to extract the full flavour of the book—and its quotations. Burton did not readily surrender to the temptation to 'prostitute his muse in English.' There is much Latin in both the body of the book and the multitudinous footnotes. There is, however, English in plenty; robust, pungent, humorous, and expressive; and it is pleasant to find 'an elegant poet' identified at the foot of the page as Shakespeare, who had been dead but five years when the *Anatomy* was published.

There is occasional difficulty in discovering whether it is the soul, or the body, that is under dissection. Edward Bensly, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature,* complaining that the *Anatomy* has been regarded too much as 'a mere conglomerate of miscellaneous excerpts, as a colossal jest, and the synopsis prefixed to each of the three parts as nothing but a parody', quotes Sir William Osler's pronouncement that the book is 'a great medical treatise, orderly in arrangement, serious in purpose.'

Burton himself had no doubt as to his function. It was of a dual character. He was both priest and physician—occasionally surgeon. 'It is a disease of the soul, on which I am to treat,' he insists, 'and as much appertaining to a divine as to a physician; and who knows what an agreement there is betwixt these two professions? . . . A divine, in this compound mixt malady, can do little alone: a physician, in some kinds of melancholy, much less: both make an absolute cure; and 'tis proper to them both, and, I hope, not unbeseeming me, who am by my profession a divine, and by mine inclination a physician. I had Jupiter in my sixth house; I say with Beroaldus, *non sum medicus, nec medicinae prorsus expers*; in the theorick of physick I have taken some pains, not with an intent to practise, but to satisfie myself; which was a cause likewise of the first undertaking of this subject.'

Burton was not unprepared for opposition from the doctors, on whose ground he was so boldly trespassing. 'If any physician shall find himself grieved that I have intruded into his profession,' he says, 'I will tell him in brief, I do not otherwise by them, than they do by us, if it be for their advantage. I know many of their sect which have taken orders in hope of a benefice: 'tis a common transition: and why may not a melancholy divine, that can get nothing but by simony, profess physick . . . Many poor countrey-vicars, for want of other means, are driven to their shifts; to turn mountebanks, quacksalvers, empericks . . . Howsoever, in undertaking this task, I hope I shall commit no great errour, or *indecorum,* if all be considered aright.'

So he sets out on his task, on the assumption that 'all the world is melancholy, or mad, dotes, and every member of it,' and wishing himself and us a better mind. If, anatomising this surly humour, the hand should slip, 'and, as an unskilful prentice, I launce too deep, and cut through skin and all at unawares, make it smart, or cut awry, pardon a rude hand, an unskilful knife.'

In one respect at least the world has changed little since Burton took his scalpel in hand. 'The greatest enemy to man is man, who, by the devil's instigation,' he says, discussing Diseases in General, 'is still ready to do mischief—his own executioner, a wolf, a devil to himself and others.' Few of us, I think, but would endorse that declaration today, though few of us might have the courage to add, with Burton's 'divine' contemporary, George Herbert: 'My God, I mean myself.'

SHORTER NOTICES

MACHINE WARFARE

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. *Hutchinson.* 8s. 6d.

THE DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE UNITED STATES

By Major-General J. F. C. Fuller. *Hutchinson.* 18s.

Since the German panzer divisions swept over France in 1940, hamstringing the Allied armies, there has been a growing stream of books on the use of armoured forces and the theory of mechanised warfare. Even the best of them suffer from a lack of background knowledge, while many of them are marred by absurd inaccuracies and shallow deductions. There is thus the more cause to hail the publication of General Fuller's newest book on the subject, *Machine Warfare*. For here a prophet who has been vindicated by events is dealing with the subject which his vision long since encompassed. His career might almost have been destined to remind us of the saying that 'a prophet is not without honour save in his own country', and to give it a sharper point than ever. For while he was a master who taught the world the new way of warfare, his own country was brought to the verge of downfall because its foes accepted and applied a teaching to which the leaders of his own country failed to listen.

In this new book he reminds readers of what he said long ago, and is the more justified in doing so because his country still neglects to profit by his vision. The book also repeats much that he has said before, but this again is abundantly worth-while, for it contains the concentrated essence of his numerous earlier books. It ought, now, to reach a much bigger public—and to receive greater attention than they did, here.

If any allow themselves to be put off by the challengingly undemocratic note of his preface, they will be the losers—and they will be fools. Even where he provokes disagreement, he provides the spur that a democracy needs.

No one has more thoroughly grasped, and more vigorously applied, the truth that criticism is 'the life of science', of warfare, and all other human pursuits. For that reason it would be the more valuable if he were to clarify his political philosophy, and suggest how freedom for criticism could be reconciled with the trend towards the totalitarian system, which he appears to regard not only as inevitable but desirable—or at least the better in a choice of evils.

'If it can be called a political system, the one I reluctantly advocate in this Age of Contending States is that of an Army raised to a national footing, in which the Prime Minister is Commander-in-Chief, and the Cabinet his Staff; Members of Parliament representing the subordinate commands, whose constituencies, like the arms of an army—infantry, artillery, tanks, etc.—are organised according to their functions.'

One may agree with Fuller's criticisms of the inefficiency, irrationality and untruthfulness of our existing system, yet perceive that it has the compensating virtue of allowing more scope for criticism—including his—than any authoritarian system. Even if that be reckoned the only virtue, it is the most vital one. When one realises how Fuller's own prophetic voice was stifled within the army by the reigning hierarchy, and only had influence in so far as he could appeal to wider circles, there is cause to doubt the improvement that might come from extending that system more widely, and making it the basis of the nation's government.

The book itself is divided into three parts. The first deals with the development of machine warfare. In the opening chapter, Fuller traces the root cause of the present war to 'that form of civilisation which sprouted out of the Industrial Revolution', and argues that the social-economic trends of a capitalistic 'mechanised society must inevitably lead to war.' He then traces the growth of machine warfare through the nineteenth century and the last war to its wider development under the Nazi régime, and discusses the reasons, basically social in his view, why it was not grasped by France and Britain.

Part II is devoted to the theory of machine-warfare, and provides a vivid epitome of his earlier thought on the subject, to which he has added a number of valuable supplementary ideas, particularly on the defence and on overseas invasion—the last section should be studied by all who are concerned with the 'Second Front' issue.

Part III deals with 'Machine Warfare in Practice'. It is really an outline history of the war up to date, pivoted on ideas more than on

dates and facts—a philosophical rather than a chronological military outline. If it cannot be complete in basis at this stage, and is not always consistent, it is always stimulating. The book ends with a chapter on 'The Multiples of Victory', a series of seventy reflective flashes on the lessons of war. They prompt comparison with Napoleon's 'Maxims', and the comparison is in Fuller's favour—on the score of the combination of brevity with profundity and wit that marks his 'Multiples'.

His still more recently published *The Decisive Battles of The United States* is a considerably longer book, and provides a much more detailed historical narrative. While it may not appeal to so large a public in this country, its account of the campaigns and battles is lit up by many scintillating criticisms and reflections. That applies particularly to the opening section, devoted to the battles of the American War of Independence. The section on the American Civil War is also good, if not quite so good. The section on the American operations in the last war is disappointing—perhaps because the material itself did not stimulate the author's digestive, and reflective, juices.

In concluding this review of his two latest books, it is timely to add a reflection upon his writings as a whole through the past quarter of a century. It is not difficult to pick holes in Fuller's work—to detect inaccuracies, illogicalities and inconsistencies. But, as a student of our military history, I have long since come to see that the British Army has never produced a man of such amazing vision and such fertile genius. One thing is more amazing, however—that in the greatest crisis of Britain's history her rulers have not troubled to make use of that genius. The neglect is the more to be regretted since the armies are so palpably slipping back into the attrition and slow-motion methods from which his vision started to rescue them in 1917.

B. H. LIDDELL HART

JEAN JAURÈS

By J. Hampden Jackson. *Allen & Unwin.* 12s. 6d.

Jaurès tried to do two great things. He tried to mobilise Socialism to prevent the first World War; he tried to unite French Socialism into a single party. In both things he magnificently failed. The story of these two magnificent failures is told by Mr. Hampden Jackson with an admirable lucidity and in a manner which would be flawless were it not that his apostolic fervour becomes a little too evident, a little too uncritical; it is a superfluous fervour.

More clearly than most, Jaurès could foretell the catastrophe of 1914; and, in the years before, he grew well enough aware that Socialism—particularly German Socialism—would not be strong enough or brave enough at the pinch to thwart the rational loyalties, those easily perverted loyalties which operate in Socialists as in other people, and in German Socialists most of all. That was the tragedy of it—he knew that his cure, though comprehensive, would not work in time; and he knew no other cure.

Jaurès could, and surely would, have succeeded enduringly with his second great project, but for that assassin's lunatic bullet in July 1914. He could have held French Socialism together till it grew as one; he could have made it a European force. And, had he lived to do this, how very different would have been the face of European politics between 1920 and 1940.

'If Jaurès had lived. . . .' Mr. Hampden Jackson repeats the words like a lament '. . . if Jaurès had lived.' It remains one of the saddest 'might-have-beens' of recent history; and all that remain, in fact, are the memory of a Sophoclean man and a half-formed, little-studied, grand condition. Jaurès was often wrong, but he was always great enough to try to cope with the terrible problems of our times. The subject of his work is a noble one; Mr. Hampden Jackson has done almost noble justice to it.

JAMES MONAHAN

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ANTONIN DVORAK—HIS ACHIEVEMENT

Edited by V. Fischl. *Lindsay Drummond.* 8s. 6d.

A number of eminent people in the musical world have contributed to this symposium on the various aspects of Dvorak's music and his musical personality. Although unavoidably prevented from appearing in time for the Dvorak Centenary in 1941, the book serves to emphasise the lesson pointed by the Centenary performances that there is a vast field of Dvorak's music almost unknown to the music-loving public. The operas, for instance (ably dealt with by the late H. C. Colles), are little more than a name except to the very few. This is hardly surprising, however, in view of the inaccessibility of the scores. On the whole the book is somewhat disappointing. Several of the essays tend to overlap and would have benefited from more severe editing. Others, in particular those of Gerald Abraham on 'Dvorak's Musical Personality' and Frank Howes on 'The National and Folk Elements', are extremely interesting and illuminating. The musical quotations in some appear to have been copied from manuscript and are occasionally almost illegible. A useful chronological list of Dvorak's works is given, together with references to the pages where each work is mentioned.

M. ALEXANDER

WAR REPORTER

By Bernard Gray. *Robert Hale.* 10s. 6d.

The complicated pattern of this war makes the affair one of continual perplexity to most of us, but to few can it be more baffling than the war correspondent. And no war correspondent—or war reporter, if you prefer it—was more baffled than 'Potato' Gray during its early stages, when the first problem was how to find the battlefield. Gray describes the two first ignominious campaigns on the Continent, or, rather, his adventures while in search of them. He missed Dunkirk, as did his colleagues, but he had his revenge later by being the last to leave Brest. The peculiar fascination of his exceedingly well-told tale springs from the fact that in the stress of subsequent 'global' alarums and excursions the strange incidents of that earlier and 'phoney' drama have been forgotten. This is, alas, a posthumous book, for from his last adventure, with the Navy, that was to have provided him with his finest coup, Gray did not return.

PHILIP MACER-WRIGHT

AFRICAN DISCOVERY

An Anthology of Discovery

By Margery Perham and J. Simmons. *Faber & Faber.* 12s. 6d.

In her introduction to this little collection of extracts from the writings of ten great British explorers of Africa, Miss Perham expresses the hope that the book will act as bait to lure us into reading the actual volumes from which the selection has been made. So fascinating is the bait that I have little doubt the libraries are already reporting a marked increase in inquiries for Mungo Park's *Travels*, Speke's *Journal*, Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone* and the works of the other famous explorers represented in this anthology.

Reading the accounts of these men—of Bruce at the court of the Emperor of Ethiopia, Mungo Park, Clapperton and Lander exploring the Niger, Burton 'unveiling' Harar, Speke discovering the source of the Nile, Stanley raising his hat to Livingstone in Central Africa, of Livingstone writing up his diary (like a later explorer in a vastly different land, Captain Scott) while Death hovered over his shoulder —reading the accounts, one feels not only the tremendous spell of Africa but also the courage and determination of the men caught in that spell. Yet, alike in courage, how different they were in temperament!

Miss Perham and Mr. Simmons are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of selection and editing. With its illustrations, good paper and very readable type, the book is a pleasing example of wartime production.

BRITISH ORIENTALISTS

By A. J. Arberry. *Collins.* 'Britain in Pictures'. 4s. 6d.

The number of British men and women who have been attracted to the study of the languages and literatures of the East is surprisingly large (a list at the end of this book of some of the most eminent British Orientalists of the past contains nearly a hundred names), and their achievements are greater and more brilliant than those of any other nation. They have come from the ranks of explorers, merchant adventurers, soldiers, government officials, missionaries and others who have had first-hand contact with the East, as well as scholars who have never journeyed outside Britain. These men and women and their achievements are admirably surveyed in Mr. Arberry's book.

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EVOLUTION

By Julian Huxley. *Allen & Unwin.* 25s.

Dr. Huxley has produced an admirable review of the new biological knowledge bearing on the theory of evolution. The discussions and references are full and comprehensive for the specialist. But in addition to this technical merit, the book contains an authoritative statement on the present conception of the idea of biological progress, very helpful to the general reader.

Many writers have questioned the legitimacy of the idea of progress, and quote facts which seem to confute it. Dr. Huxley shows that in many of these arguments, the critics start by defining progress to suit their own preconceptions. They then examine the biological world, and find that their preconceptions are not confirmed, and conclude there is no such thing as progress. Dr. Huxley contends that the biologist must not define progress *a priori*, but should proceed inductively, examining the biological world, and seeing whether he finds evidence of the existence in it of a process that can be called progressive. When the biological world is studied from this point of view, it is seen that the succession of biologically dominant types is the most salient fact in the evolutionary history of life, and not adaptation and survival. Thus the test of fitness by survival in combat, on which reactionaries like Hitler attempt to justify their policy, is deposed from the first place, and progress is seen to be associated with qualities making for greater control over, and independence of, the environment.

Progress is associated with all-round biological improvement rather than specialisation. The review of present biological knowledge suggests that it is very improbable that life could have evolved in any other way than it has done, and the only line which promises unlimited progress is the intelligence and use of true speech and thought. These are found exclusively in man. Thus man has become the trustee of evolution. He is provided with the objective evidence which makes his present struggle worth while.

J. G. CROWTHER

PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF WAR ON CITIZEN AND SOLDIER

By R. D. Gillespie. *Chapman & Hall.* 12s.

Modern warfare has confronted psychiatry with a number of problems calculated to bring into relief the limitations of the psychiatric approach; especially the tendency to over-estimate obvious environmental factors in the development of psychoneuroses and to neglect, or even deny, the less accessible psychological factors.

Dr. Gillespie, a distinguished psychiatrist who is further distinguished by his friendly attitude to modern psychology, avoids this major blunder. Discarding certain widely favoured sociological —e.g., economic—explanations of neurotic disorder, he stresses the importance of early psychological (family) influences; which, he moreover points out, may be excellent even where economic conditions are bad. He recognises in the psychological situation of 'broken homes' one traceable factor in psychoneurotic predisposition among the fighting forces. Where predisposition is strong, he finds that mobilisation and regimentation are alone sufficient to precipitate definite psychological illness; a fact which may have some bearing on the infrequency, relative and absolute, of war-neuroses among civilians even in the most heavily blitzed areas.

Turning to the problem of post-war prevention of neurosis, Dr. Gillespie is guilty of some inconsistencies: impressed by certain anthropological finds, e.g., the cult of mediocrity among the mild Arapesh people, as contrasted with the aggressiveness and possessiveness of the hag-ridden Mungdumor, and charmed by these examples of 'cultural malleability', he seems to conclude that we (whoever 'we' may be) can eliminate mental abnormalities by a modification of social environment. Despite some promising allusions to the upbringing of children, it is clear that he has in mind politico-economic factors in adult life. This is a regrettable backsliding.

EDWARD GLOVER

FAITH AND WORKS

By Lionel Curtis. *Oxford University Press.* 2s.

Fateful issues hang on the longevity of the sanguinely named 'United' Nations. We cannot expect all its ties to be of the same strength; they will range from full constitutional union in (let us hope) many instances, to some which may be little better than reluctant collaboration bred of necessity. The author of *Faith and Works* believes that the British Commonwealth will be called upon to serve as the backbone of the permanent United Nations organisation. To be equal to the task, we and the Dominions must share a popularly elected Defence Parliament for our common affairs; a system open to other nations as a nucleus of world government.

This pamphlet throws fresh light on international government, if only because it says something new about the division of powers into national and international functions. Curtis argues that security and social reform can be attained only when security is allotted to a new international government and social reform reserved to the existing national governments. It is of topical interest to compare this division with that advocated by Sir William Beveridge in *Peace by Federation.* (World Order Papers, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1940.)

Post-war planners who talk glibly of 'sovereignty', attacking or defending without understanding it, should read this book, which makes short work of schemes whereby states, verbally renouncing the 'right' to act as judge and jury in their own case, retain the power to break their pledges. Curtis has devoted the greater part of a lifetime to such problems, and this is another instalment of his findings.

Commenting on the ubiquitous remark 'national governments must surrender some part of their sovereignty. . . .', he complains that 'with rare exceptions the people who use this formula mean that the international body is to represent the national governments or legislatures. They oppose any suggestion that an international body should be made answerable to the peoples themselves and derive its authority from their votes. *They condemn the necessary means to the end they propose.*'

Opposing the doctrine of government of states by states and for states that has laid the world in ruins, the author gives us instead the gospel of popular sovereignty. 'Sovereignty vests in the citizens as a whole, and not in their government.' They therefore have the right to divide the powers of government, allotting international affairs to a government responsible to an international electorate, and leaving national affairs to the separate national governments where they now rest. He hits the nail on the head when he points out that 'no transfer of sovereignty to an international body by two or more national commonwealths has been effected unless the international body is directly elected by the peoples of these commonwealths.'

It will be a world calamity if such arguments do not prevail when we come to interpret the Atlantic Charter, which commits the United Nations 'to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.'

HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

ENGLISH CITIES AND SMALL TOWNS

By John Betjeman. *Collins.* 'Britain in Pictures'. 4s. 6d.

What an enormous subject to compress into less than forty pages of text! As one would expect, John Betjeman tackles the problem with great skill, dividing his towns into groups—'Cathedral, University and Country Towns', 'Industrial Towns', 'Spas and Watering Places' and 'Ports'. He gives a delightful general impression of each type, as well as drawing in words a number of thumbnail sketches which show the particular appeal of a town like Bath, or Cambridge, or Thaxted, or Brighton. The many pleasing illustrations include one, in colour, from John Piper's delicate *Brighton Aquatints.*

R. MILES

The City Railway Station. From *Auckland: City of Sunshine* Published by *Whitcombe & Tombs.* 4s. 6d.

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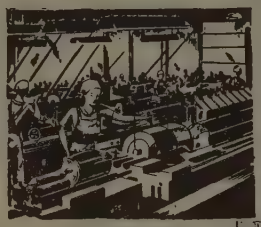

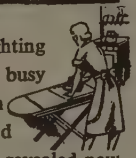

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THE FACE IS FAMILIAR

By Ogden Nash. *J. M. Dent.* 7s. 6d.

In America any volume of Nash will sell a hundred thousand copies. Over here, he is not nearly so well known, which is astonishing when you consider that England prides herself on her sense of humour. Ogden Nash has a bite which is unparalleled and a glance at the Contents is sufficient alone to earn him the title of 'the most comic poet of all comic poets alive'.

LESLEY SAXBY

PLAN FOR RECONSTRUCTION

By W. H. Hutt. International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction: editor, Karl Mannheim. *Kegan Paul.* 18s.

W. H. Hutt, Professor of Commerce in Capetown University, contributes a volume entitled *Plan for Reconstruction* in the series published by the International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction, of which Karl Mannheim is editor. Professor Hutt's main thesis is that the restrictive policies pursued in the past by capitalist monopolies on the one hand, and labour organisations on the other, have exerted a disastrous influence on Britain's economy, and that such restrictive influences must be eradicated in the future. He gives many concrete examples of restriction and, in a very useful section on war economics, shows how the same mentality has worked to impede the efficiency of war production. His plan for the future, worked out in great detail, takes the form of three draft Bills—for Labour Security, Capital Security and Resources Utilisation Protection respectively—to be presented to Parliament. It would be administered by a Resources Utilisation Commission, composed of equal numbers of judges, economists and men of affairs. There will be agreement with many of the points which Professor Hutt makes and with his main objective: to secure the maximum flow of goods for consumption and a higher level of economic security. But one cannot help feeling that he is over-confident about the success of his plan, and one cannot fail to remark upon the resemblance of the structure he would establish to the corporate state in Italy or Germany, while his references to class collaboration have a familar ring. There is, surprisingly, no mention of the achievements of planned economy in Soviet Russia.

MARGARET STEWART

CROSS-SECTION

OF THE WORLD'S PRESS

China Suspicious of Britain and Soviet Union

CHINA gained nationhood only after long years of frustration, and nobody will find it surprising if New China looks with a suspicious eye on the nations which so recently dominated her. Foremost among these nations are the Japanese Empire, the British Empire, the Soviet Union and the French Empire (if it is restored).

It seems hardly necessary to list the reasons why China will be suspicious of Japan. She will wish to see her relegated to the status of a weak nation, militarily and economically. The British Empire is suspected because of its traditional use of the system of balance of power in maintaining its predominance and because of its territorial interest in lands bordering southwest China. The Chinese continued to think of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance with dread long after its demise; nor did the regret which they heard expressed for twenty years in powerful British circles over the abandonment of the Alliance add to their peace of mind. The Chinese cannot help knowing that if the British do again resort to the system of balance of power in the Far East, it will be because they feel that China, destined to be the principal Power there, must be held in a state of suspense. The British Government has not expressed a readiness to relax its hold on Tibet, a Chinese territory, or on Burma; nor has it ever declared itself in favour of the full restoration of Manchuria to China. Does it intend to make use of China's rich and fertile alienated provinces in a continuation of the balance-of-power game?

China watches the policy of the Soviet Union with great uneasiness. The support that Russia may give the Chinese Communist Party is always a source of anxiety. The status of Mongolia is an exasperation. The Soviet Union clung tenaciously to the interests which Tsarist Russia had acquired in North Manchuria; then in 1934, under threat, it sold or otherwise ceded them to Japan. That did not help to correct the impression that Communist Russia, too, is capable of imperialist manœuvres.

These various suspicions could be removed, and China hopes they will be. But given China's jealous regard for her newly acquired national status, it would seem unrealistic to expect her to show a high degree of international-mindedness after the war. She will come to the peace table young and perhaps with a chip on her shoulder. . . . . .

China Wants Tibet and Outer Mongolia

WHAT territories will China want returned? Before the Chinese Empire began to disintegrate in 1842 it was an immensely greater country than China is at present. It would be neither practical nor just for China to ask the return of all territories ceded to other countries (for instance, the Amur region, now a part of the Soviet Union) and of all tributary states now owing allegiance elsewhere (for instance, Burma and Indo-China). Fortunately, China is not in so jingoistic a frame of mind. What China will firmly demand is, first, the Chinese-inhabited territories snatched away from her by Japan since 1874, and second, full and undisputed control of Tibet and Outer Mongolia.

In the first category fall those islands of the Lu Chu group which are inhabited by the Chinese, and both Formosa and Manchuria. Formosa was a Chinese province before it was taken by Japan. Its inhabitants are still predominantly Chinese in spite of Japan's indefatigable efforts at colonisation. The population of the Manchurian provinces is almost purely Chinese, and during all the years while they were under enemy occupation the National Government of China never failed to maintain skeleton governments for them. China will feel that a denial of her claim to these areas will be tantamount to questioning her right to free national existence. Such a denial would set the stage for the kind of bitter strife which filled Europe during the past century.

Tibet and Outer Mongolia present a more complicated problem. During the Manchu dynasty they were integral parts of China. They have remained Chinese territory. Even at the

height of British influence in Tibet, in the years immediately following the Revolution in 1911, the British continued to accept Chinese suzerainty over that area. The Soviet Union has repeatedly acknowledged Chinese suzerainty over Outer Mongolia and did not repudiate it at the time of the Soviet-Japanese Non-Aggression Pact in April 1941. In that Pact the Soviet Union induced the Japanese to declare for non-intervention in Mongolian affairs. But Outer Mongolia has become an independent People's Republic, ostensibly by self-determination. The Tibetans have likewise been reluctant to return to the fold.

China believes that if British and Soviet influences are lifted from Tibet and Mongolia, neither province will insist on remaining a separate entity. China has consistently avoided raising the issue of either Tibet or Mongolia, because of the imperative necessity of keeping on the friendliest terms with both Great Britain and the Soviet Union. But it must be raised at the end of this war. China will then expect both Powers to facilitate her assumption of undisputed control over these areas.

PROF. T. S. CHIEN, Chairman, Foreign Committee, People's Political Council, in *Foreign Affairs* (U.S.A.)

U.S. Sphere of Influence In Latin America?

MANY business men are hesitating. They say they want first a statement of policy by the British Government.

In earlier years British business men did not wait for a lead from their government; indeed, they led the government. But now they wonder whether there will be some international arrangement after the war which will keep them from trading with Latin America. Some say openly (however mistakenly) that they believe the world will be split into spheres of influence for trade, and that Latin America will be the sphere of the United States.

Now no declaration can be made here on behalf of the British Government—obviously the British Government would not make a declaration involving international co-operation before the victorious nations have come together to agree that policy.

But some evident facts can be plainly stated—they are more evident at the moment to the governments and peoples of Latin America than to the industrialists of Britain:—

1. The Latin American republics do not want to be confined to trading with one country alone. They welcome the Good Neighbour policy, but in life there must be more than one good neighbour.

2. Latin American countries know and proclaim to the world that an important part of their trade always has been, and always must be, with Great Britain. The predominant market for the products of the temperate zones of Latin America is Great Britain. And trade is reciprocal.

Any international conference must recognise *facts*. And these two points, apart altogether from the generations-old friendship, understanding and trust between Britain and Latin America, are the facts.

The governments, the primary producers, the new industrialists, of Latin America want British goods and equipment at the first possible moment. They are prepared to place orders now.

Latin American World

Britain First in Argentina!

ONE of the reasons for the rapid rise to prosperity of our continent is due, precisely, to the fact that immediately after its discovery we started to trade with Europe and to exploit our wealth.

No other continent has achieved such an enormous volume of trade with Europe as the American Continent. Our prosperity, and yours as well, is based on this interchange. The United Kingdom alone, during the last five years before the outbreak of the present war, exported to the twenty nations of Latin America goods to the value of £33,000,000, and purchased from them to the amount of £80,000,000. It is to be hoped that after the war no new formulas, systems, or doctrines will be invented to hinder the increase of this sound and fruitful element of culture and well-being.

The American nations south of the 15th parallel are linked with Europe for a very special economic reason. While the products of the warmer zones are absorbed by the United States, those of the temperate regions go to Europe, especially the United Kingdom. It is for this reason that Argentina, which occupies the greatest land space south of the 15th parallel, enjoys a preponderant position in the exchange of goods with Britain.

Of total British exports to Latin American countries, Argentina receives 50 per cent, and in turn provides 55 per cent of British imports.

But we could not sell so much to the United Kingdom if we in turn were not such large purchasers of your goods. America and Europe are continents in which culture is most widespread, and the standard of living and individual demand highest. The markets of South America, Central America and Mexico are potentially capable of an expansion, the extent of which has seldom been realised; I really think it could reach unbelievable proportions. Even though she develops her own industries and inter-American trade increases, the United Kingdom will always have opportunities of expanding her trade. With regard to Argentina, the United Kingdom before the war occupied the first place in her import and export trade.

The latest figures for January go to show that in spite of wartime difficulties, the United Kingdom still occupies the first place in the list of countries trading with Argentina. It is really an extraordinary fact that while her forces are fighting in all the continents, Britain's trade with Argentina has not lost its prominent position.

DR. MIGUEL ANGEL CARCANO, Argentine Ambassador, reported in *Latin American World*

'I'll take this hat if you're sure Montgomery won't mind.'
DRAPER'S RECORD

Jitters Cause Poison

DISCOVERY of a poisonous substance which appears suddenly in human blood during fear and anxiety was reported to the New York Academy of Medicine, 27 May.

The nature of the stuff is unknown. But its existence was definitely proven by its effects on rabbit tissues in the test tubes.

A bit of human blood of human beings with the jitters never failed to upset and change the normal rhythm of contraction of these rabbit tissues. The blood of humans without emotional disturbances never had any effect.

Furthermore, the rabbit tissues were affected by the unknown human chemical only when the blood was taken during an attack of jitters. It wasn't there for more than thirty minutes after the attack ended. *Christian Science Monitor*

Is Poker Skill or Chance?

POKER, according to the *Oxford Dictionary*, is 'an American card game, played by two or more persons, each of whom, if not bluffed into declaring his hand, bets on the value of it, the player with the highest combination of cards winning the pool.' Is it a game of chance or a game of skill, and who is to decide which it is? People who play it would probably say that it is a game of skill—at any rate those who win would do so; but their views are, perhaps, of small weight. In *R.* v. *Tompson*, the Chairman of the County of London Sessions held that the question was one of law for him to decide, and he held that poker is not a game of mere skill and is therefore an unlawful game within the Gaming Houses Act of 1854. He was set right by the Court of Criminal Appeal (1943, 2 All E.R. 130), which held that in the case of a game made unlawful by statute unless it is a game of mere skill, the test is whether the element of chance is so slight that it is a game of mere skill, and that that question is one of fact for the jury and not a question of law for the Judge. So apparently we shall never know whether poker is a game of skill or of chance—all that we shall be able to know is that a particular game of poker was or was not a game of mere skill.

The Law Journal

Best of good luck to them both

It's one of the occasions when a gin and Votrix is in season. Votrix, of course, is itself a first-rate example of a successful marriage—white wine from Empire grapes and carefully chosen aromatic herbs blended so that the two 'live happily ever after.' That genius in the blending gives Votrix — the British Vermouth — the distinction that is readily recognised and all its own.

...and now for a gin & Votrix

VOTRIX VERMOUTH. *Votrix, produced at the Vine Products Vintnery in Surrey, may often be difficult to get, owing to wartime restrictions, but it is still available. "Dry," bottle size 7/6. "Sweet," bottle size 7/-.*

M.P.S.

The letters M.P.S. stand for "Member of the Pharmaceutical Society" and signify that the holder is a registered, qualified chemist. The qualified chemist occupies an important place in the scheme of maintaining the nation's health. Your doctor relies upon him to dispense his prescriptions accurately. He is recognised as an authority on drugs and toilet preparations and, as such, his opinion is worth attention.

He recommends the toothpaste with a definite germicidal power :—

Euthymol

TOOTH PASTE

PETROLE HAHN

For the Hair

A perfect dressing and a sovereign specific against falling hair, scurf and dandruff. Promotes hair growth. Invigorates the scalp. Non-inflammable. From good Hairdressers and Chemists.

per bottle **5/- & 7/6**
(including increased tax)

R. HOVENDEN & SONS LTD.
LONDON & BELFAST

Perils of Journalism

THE practice of accepting birth notices by telephone has been responsible for a remarkable court case in Northern Ireland.

The *Northern Constitution* received by telephone and published in November last an apparently innocuous birth notice. But in point of fact it was a fake, and carried the implication that the so-called wife, actually a housekeeper, was living with her employer, and had given birth to a son named after a neighbour. As will be seen, this carried complicated implications.

In the succeeding issue, the *Northern Constitution* made a complete apology, but nevertheless proceedings followed last week in the Ulster King's Bench Division, when two leading K.C.s appeared before the Lord Chief Justice. Both the woman and the man sought damages for injury to their reputation.

Since the case began many Irish newspapers have refused to accept birth notices over the telephone, or even by post, without some guarantee of authenticity.

Judgment as finally given was £50 to the woman concerned and £20 to the employer, with costs up to February 9, the date when defendants lodged £100 in Court to meet the claim.

World's Press News

For the Next War

CAUTIOUS people are so ridiculously short-sighted: they do not think that *we shall need a strong Wehrmacht in twenty years' time;* they do not remember that our grandchildren must do the work which our sons who have fallen are unable to do.

Schwarze Korps (Berlin)

Change of Scene

'WELL-USED map of Africa exchanged for good map of Italy.'

Ad. in *Aftenpost* (Norway)

The Bible in Spain

A BRITISH Protestant Missionary just returned from Spain reports that anyone found reading the Protestant Bible in Spain is fined £100 with the option of a gaol sentence.

Trek (South Africa)

Improving on Nature

BIRDS would not normally be expected to have parachutes, but the Army is providing some for its carrier pigeons.

The pigeons are used with paratroopers who might land behind enemy lines and be unable to use radio to get necessary information back to their bases.

The birds are dropped either in special containers strapped to the soldiers' chests or in cases attached to parachutes.

Christian Science Monitor

'I had the strangest feeling in the elevator that I was changing into Clare Luce.' NEW YORKER

Kill that Fly!

THERE are no mosquito-borne diseases in St. Helena, and plague, cholera and smallpox are unknown in the Island. Street refuse in Jamestown, the capital, is collected daily and dumped into the sea. In the country individual householders are responsible for dealing with their household refuse.

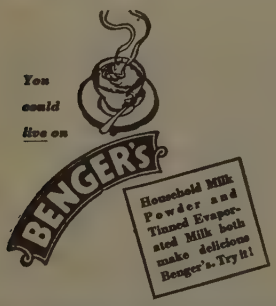
Congo Crop Failure

OWING to the partial failure of crops in the Congo upon which Northern Rhodesia was depending to a large extent, it is not possible to withdraw the order reducing maize and other cereal rations. Every effort, however, is being made to obtain further supplies of maize from outside the territory and the position will be reviewed as soon as the local crop is reaped during the next few weeks. The present rationing restrictions will remain in force, therefore, at any rate for some months.

West African Review

Indifference to "Rest-therapy" is the root of much INDIGESTION ★

GASTRIC TROUBLES are aggravated by over-straining the digestive organs with unsuitable food when, on the contrary, what they most need is Rest. Your disinclination to eat a full meal when you feel tired or worried is a sign that your digestion needs a rest. This is a natural and instinctive curative impulse. Obey it. Rest your digestion with a cup of Benger's Food. Benger's soothes the stomach and gives your digestion a chance to build up its natural strength. Yet it provides the warmth and nourishment your system needs but in a form you can fully absorb without discomfort or digestive strain.



Why Benger's is so good for you

Benger's is rich nourishment in a form which requires very little effort on the part of the digestive organs. It contains active enzymes which partially predigest milk so that you absorb the full value of this valuable food while giving your digestion the rest it needs.

Benger's, today, is as easy to make as a cup of cocoa. From all chemists and high-class grocers—The Original Plain Benger's, Malt Flavoured or Cocoa and Malt Flavoured.

Benger's Ltd., Holmes Chapel, Cheshire

Touch Wood!

IT has been announced in British Honduras that, despite various wartime restrictions, the mahogany industry in that country has experienced a period of great prosperity.

Foresters from British Honduras are working in organised units on behalf of the war effort in the United Kingdom.

West African Review

The Oba at the Owa

THERE was a very colourful ceremony when the installation ceremony of Oba Saka Ogunlana Aladesheso III Onibeju of Ijebu took place a short time ago.

Dancing and parades commenced after the ceremony and lasted until late in the afternoon. When the State drums from the Owa sounded, all the other drummers stopped and rushed to the Owa. At about 5 p.m. the Oba was crowned with the traditional beaded crown at Oju Olofin. Dressed in damask robes and Obalufon cloth, the Oba took his seat at the Owa amidst cheers and shouting. The Divisional Officer, Mr. J. H. Beeley and one of the Senior Education Officers witnessed the ceremony.

Nigerian Eastern Mail

Banking

THE recipient of a cheque from a relative who escaped from Singapore to Australia and sent money from Sydney last October has had the cheque returned marked 'Payment withheld under Trading with the Enemy Act.'

Inquiry elicited the following letter from the bank: 'Mr. —— was living in Singapore, and until we have direct evidence that he has, in fact, escaped, we are not in a position to request the authorities to release his account from the "enemy" status, as at present it is classified. We have already taken steps to procure such direct evidence, but without success.'

The Crown Agents have been approached by the bank and have promised to do what they can. The drawer of the cheque was in the employ of the Malay States Government.

British Malaya

RATIONING MAKES
EXTRA VITAMIN SUPPLY ESSENTIAL

The body must have enough vitamins A and D if it is to remain healthy. Before rationing most of us got sufficient of these in our ordinary meals, but wartime diets tend to reduce the vitamin value of our food. A daily dose of Crookes' provides sufficient 'anti-infective' vitamin A to enable you to resist colds and influenza; it provides, too, the correct amount of 'sunshine' vitamin D to keep adults healthy and to allow children to grow up with strong bones and sound teeth.

CROOKES' HALIBUT OIL

OBTAINABLE ONLY FROM CHEMISTS

Capsules — per bottle of 100 — 8/6 · *Liquid — per phial — enough for 16 days 2/-*

'That, Miss Merchandise, is what I mean by discipline.'
DRAPER'S RECORD

Thirst

THE Tasmanian House of Assembly not long ago rejected by a 2 to 1 majority a Bill to forbid 'shouting' for drinks, what an Englishman would describe as a no treating measure.

The mover said that he had been astonished by the number of regular drinkers who approved the Bill. His astonishment would perhaps have been less if he had often been the last comer at a party.

Opponents declared that shouting was being displaced by the 'bob in' system, by which each drinker puts 1s. in a pool, which is won by the man who calls a number that has been secretly recorded as the contributors number off. The winner buys the drinks and pockets the balance, if any.

Whether this system will recommend itself in India we should not like to say.

Overseas Statesman

Thirst for Excitement

THEY'RE patriotic, too, but the quest for husbands and thirst for excitement are the principal impulses that lead the gals into the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, according to Sergeant Celia Lambert.

Recruiting Officer Lambert declared they list patriotic reasons on questionnaires, 'but that's not the real story.'

Some, she said, are mature women attempting to fulfil the dreams that 'somewhere I'll find him.'

Then there are the restless younger girls whose social environment was upset when most of the eligible boys were drafted. They're lonesome and crave excitement.

Last, but far from least, come the Army and Navy wives. Their husbands are gone, 'and if there a e no children the wives think they'll be happier in the same business. They don't like to be left alone.'

And, of course, there's the lure of travel and the financial angle. *Christian Science Monitor*

Aviation—World's Biggest Airport?

IDLEWILD Airport, now under construction on the north shore of Jamaica Bay in New York, will have an area of 2,576 acres, five times the size of the La Guardia Field, and will be the world's largest airport. It is expected to be completed in 1945, barring possible wartime delays.

The two largest runways at Idlewild will be two miles long. Altogether, there will be 13 miles of runways for land-planes and three landing areas in the bay for seaplanes. The runways, each 200 ft. wide, will be laid out in pairs in four different wind directions.

Thus, it is said, planes will be able to take off and land simultaneously on each pair of runways. There will be five miles of paved taxi strips 100 ft. wide.

Great Britain and the East

Aviation—Interest In

THE increase in air traffic over Surinam (Dutch Guiana) since American Army Air Force Units were stationed at Paramaribo has aroused the curiosity of the Aborigines in the jungles of this territory.

The newspaper *De West* on 27 May published a letter from a place deep in Surinam's jungles, saying that the Bush Negroes have seen high-flying planes; but asking whether it would be possible to send a plane to circle low over their village, 'so that we can see such a monster bird for the first time nearby'.

Netherlands News Digest

Italy—Scarpia Stabbed!

ALL that the lovely Floria Tosca asked was a safe-conduct pass for herself and her lover to leave the country. Her wiles and her entreaties had failed. At last she had promised her body. Baron Scarpia, Chief of Police in Rome, smiled. He gave an order that the girl's lover be saved by a mock execution, then signed a safe-conduct pass for the two.

But when the Baron rose from his desk to take the girl in his arms her eyes were menacing. Suddenly she clawed a sharp knife from her clothes, struck it deep into the Baron's breast. He crumpled, begging for mercy, but the girl did not heed. Calmly she washed her hands, tidied her hair, plucked the pass from the Baron's stiffening fingers, swept offstage.

Last week Parisians wildly applauded this scene in a performance of Puccini's opera *La Tosca*. They found in it an emotional release from their own pent-up bitterness and frustration under police tyranny. And never, they said, had the rôle been acted so realistically. It never had. The curtain did not rise again. Neither did the Baron. *Petit Parisien* reported that in the excitement of the performance the villain had actually been stabbed.

Time (U.S.A.)

Women's Rights—Basutoland

JUDGMENT has been given with costs, in favour of the Paramount Chieftainess Mantsebo, of Basutoland, in a case in which Chief Bereng, a brother of Mantsebo's husband, the late Paramount Chief Seeiso Griffith, contested the legality of the appointment of a woman to the regency, contending that he himself should have been appointed, and that he also had the right to 'take over' his brother's widow as wife. The case lasted for many weeks and aroused widespread interest throughout the territory and further afield. Many major chiefs were called by both sides to give evidence.

Crown Colonist

Women's Rights—Portugal

A LETTER was found in a pillar-box, without any address, but bearing the following words: 'Dear Mr. Postman, sorry to trouble you. But this is the only way to get out at nights.'

Seculo (Portugal)

U.S. Women Unruffled

ON the feminine topics of ruffles and steatopygia, a slim, unruffled expert made sense last week. Said Mrs. Mary Brewster White, O.W.I.'s expert on womanpower, to 300 clothes-conscious fashion editors and designers: 'If there must be pants . . . let them be designed so that they do not dishearten "she who doubles any measurement that Venus can offer." . . . [As] for ruffles . . . they have no place in wartime.'

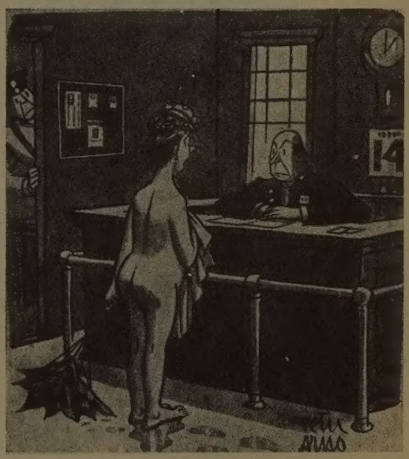
Time (U.S.A.)

Identity

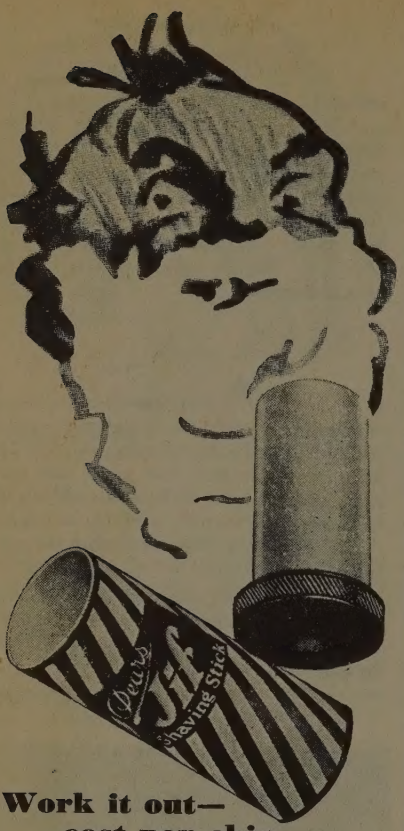
A thirty-two-year-old woman of Felgueiras (north Portugal), already the mother of four children, had quadruplets, all boys. The father is a shoe-maker. Two of the boys were easily identifiable, but the mother could not tell the difference between the other two, having lost the ribbons bearing their names which the priest had attached to them.

The local authorities undertook medical attention for the children, and the President's wife offered dresses for all of them. Two of the quads died later.

Diario de Noticias (Portugal)



'I want to report a tornado.' NEW YORKER



Work it out—cost per chin

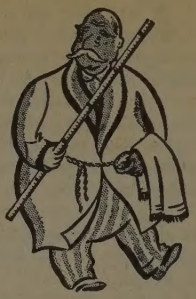
That's the way to look at it in these hard times. Ten thousand bubbles of soothing lather required to browbeat the bristles on each chin. Why pay an exorbitant price for these bubbles. Pears have attended to the matter. Jif gives you millions of first class vintage bubbles for 7½d.

Pears Jif

SHAVING STICK 7½d.

A. & F. Pears Ltd. PJ 673/137A

5" of water.. *(that's patriotism)*



a tablet of WRIGHT'S

(that's practical)

That fine old family soap makes a little water do a lot of good work. The lather bubbles generously, cleanses conscientiously and leaves your skin fresh, fit and braced. Yes, and the famous coal tar principle is a trusty home-guard against germ raids.

WRIGHT'S Coal Tar Soap

One tablet—one coupon. 7½d. per tablet (inc. tax).

'GOOD OLD CHURCH ARMY'

THE CHURCH ARMY Mobile Canteens have a very real place in the hearts of our serving men. Their visits are eagerly awaited; not only for the refreshments they bring, but also for the pleasant interlude and exchange of a cheery word. In trying extremes of climate—in tension or boredom—the Canteen is a vital Institution.

They must be maintained—they cost £3 per week to run. Can you help maintain one or more for a week?

Please send a gift to:
The Rev. H. H. TREACHER
General Secretary and Head

THE CHURCH ARMY

Headquarters:
55 BRYANSTON STREET, LONDON, W.1
(*Registered under War Charities Act*, 1940)

Our Vegetarian Community Honoured

VEGETERIANS everywhere have been gratified to learn of the Doctorate in Music (*sic*) recently conferred by Oxford University on Dr. Percy Scholes, already a Docteur-ès-Lettres of Lausanne and a Mus. Bac. (Oxford).

The Vegetarian News

Nature's Prodigality

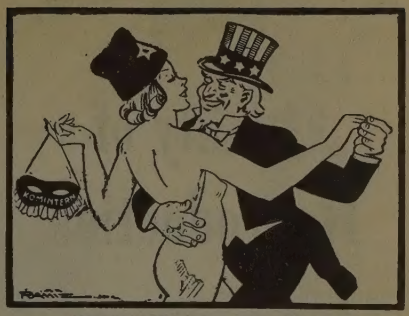
A SCHOOLBOY wrote that the United States does not raise silk worms because it gets its silk from the rayon, which is a larger animal and gives more silk. Too much, we would say, to judge by the fit around the ankles.

Christian Science Monitor

Time Theory

A CHICAGO janitor broke the world's record six-tenths of a second by changing diapers in 6.4 seconds. However, there are still plenty of wives who would be only too well pleased to have hubby perform this ritual even if he took 6.4 hours.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (U.S.A.)



RUSSIA TAKES OFF THE RED MASK

Uncle Sam: *'Well, my beautiful, now we can see each other far better.'* YENI SABAH (Turkey)

Myrna's Bust—Fair Comment?

MYRNA LOY, Gloria Swanson and Mary Boland are talented, well-trained sculptresses, and each has busts that have caused widespread comment. *Hollywood 'Citizen-News'*

From Status to Contract

MAJOR'S (Regular) wife wishes to rent for duration . . .

Advt. in *The Times*

LATEST FROM U.S.A.

WITH reports from Europe indicating food conditions already worse than when the last war ended, Americans are becoming increasingly concerned with post-war feeding problem. While need is greater this time, supply will be considerably smaller. About 27 million tons of food were supplied to Europe after the last war, of which 16 came from the United States. This time Americans will likely be unable to supply this much, nor will the rest of the world be able to make up the difference. Outside meat, U.S. will have no surplus food and probably will be reduced to rationing bread. Question will arise as to whether Germany should get any.

Mayor La Guardia officially proclaimed New York The World Centre of Creative, Interpretive Art the other day and announced ambitious project for regular forty weeks' season of opera, ballet, concerts, plays at popular prices. Idea conceived when city acquired former Mecca Temple in tax foreclosure proceedings. It is a huge building containing auditorium seating for 3,500. New non-profit organisation is backed by Lillian Gish, Elmer Rice, Paul Robeson, Lawrence Tibbett.

America is reluctantly coming to the conclusion it can't eat its goats and wear them too. This year about 700,000 prized angoras—who concede only the most distant kinship to backyard or tincan chewing goat—will find their way to otherwise meatless dinner tables. Meanwhile Texas is beginning to worry about one of its nationally important products—mohair.

Creeping Jenny gains sudden popularity. Jenny is prolific nuisance weed in the Mid-west. Its roots apparently contain excellent blood coagulator. As story goes, vacationing chemist was chopping at stubborn weed with butcher's knife. Swinging too enthusiastically, he nicked finger as well as root, but cut stopped bleeding the instant it contacted severed root. Result: several large pharmaceutical concerns investigating possibility of manufacturing extract of Jenny in mass production.

FITZGERALD, New York,
Exclusive Cable to *World Review*

BY APPOINTMENT

Quality of Reproduction

For nearly half a century the world's greatest artists have entrusted the permanent reproduction of their art to "His Master's Voice"—exclusively. Purity of tone and quality of reproduction have therefore become a tradition with "His Master's Voice" . . . a tradition which ensures that "His Master's Voice" radio sets and radio-gramophones enable you to hear the world's greatest artists as they would wish to be heard.

"HIS MASTER'S VOICE"

RADIO RECEIVERS
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We regret that no Radiograms or Radio Receivers are available for the time being.

when you're shaved with **SHAVALLO**
SHAVING STICK

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and false economy

Artificial teeth can only effectively replace natural ones as long as they fit absolutely perfectly. To persist in wearing a loose denture which causes discomfort and embarrassment is false economy because the trouble can so easily be put right. KOLYNOS DENTURE FIXATIVE, *for making false teeth fit firmly*, will hold it securely in position for many hours, ensuring comfort, confidence and proper mastication.

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SAFEGUARD THEIR FUTURE

Our fighting men, in times of adversity after Service, may count on the help of the British Legion. A legacy to HAIG'S FUND, Cardigan House, Richmond, Surrey, will benefit ALL ranks of ALL Services, their families too.

(Registered under the War Charities Act, 1940)

Short Story Writing

Short story writing is the ideal hobby in war-time.

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